I Have not obſerved that any one, amongſt your numerous Correſpondents, has, as yet, taken Notice of the two Anſwers to Mr. Phillip's Life of Cardinal Pole. The ingenious, ſenſible, and candid Remarks made in thoſe two Books, deſerve the Attention of every one who would wiſh to know the true and real Characters, both of the Biographer and his Hero, the ſeditious, nay treaſonable Intentions, the falſe Miſrepreſentations, and the conſummate Ignorance and Inaccuracy of the former are fully expoſed, whilſt the Ingratitude and Treachery of the latter, both to his King and Country, are ſet forth to view in their proper Light. Whatever Impreſſion Mr. P— might expect to make upon People in general, by advancing groſs Falſehoods, theſe Anſwers will, I flatter myſelf, entirely efface; and however bigotted thoſe of his own Communion may be, they muſt, if not blind to Senſe and Reaſon, be aſhamed of a Champion, who will either attempt to defend, or hope to advance their Cauſe, with ſuch bad Weapons. I ſhould indeed imagine, that the Papiſts themſelves have been conſcious of the Detriment which would have been done to their Cauſe, by Mr. P.'s Book being ſuffered to fall into too many Hands, they have therefore taken great Pains to ſuppreſs it; but as the principal Paſſages in it are taken Notice of, and refuted in the two Anſwers, I would recommend the Peruſal of them to all Papiſts, if they dare read them, and to all Proteſtants who wiſh to be informed, or farther convinced of the Happineſs they enjoy in the Exerciſe of a pure and uncorrupted Religion. Mr. Ridley very ſenſibly and judiciouſly obſerves, in the Concluſion of his Anſwer to Mr. P. "Whatever your Reaſons may be for thus extolling the Jeſuits, (who are already drove out of France and Portugal, for their Intrigues and Treachery againſt the State) or what Thanks ſoever your Popiſh Superiours may give you for this wanton Diſturbance of your Country, which permits you, and your Aſſociates, to live in Peace amongſt them, we acknowledge the Goodneſs of the Divine Providence, in thus ſuffering you to awaken us from a Forgetfulneſs of thoſe Corruptions and that Tyranny from which he has thrice delivered us. Security is often fatal, and your Performance is like the Alarm of the Rattle Snake, which puts the Paſſenger on his Guard

To the PRINTER *of* The S. J. CHRONICLE.

Virtutem incolumem odimus
Sublatam ex oculis quærimus invidi.

SIR,

PREJUDICED againſt the living Divines of the Church of England, their diſſenting Adverſaries call out for the illuſtrious Dead; Men once famous in their Generation. Were but the Tillotſons and Stillingfleets to return, ſay they, then ſomething might be expected to be done—then we might ſee noble Triumphs over the audacious Foe. But what can be hoped for from the Men of the preſent Day, ſo gifted and diſpoſed as they are? Sufficient we truſt, Mr. Baldwin; will the preſent Defenders of the proteſtant Cauſe prove againſt the Attack at preſent made againſt it, of which we have already received convincing Proof in our Oxford Authors, whoſe Labours I ſee the Diſſenters are more inclined to carp at than applaud, and find it eaſier to cenſure than excel. But tho' I preſume not to make Compariſons between our former and preſent Writers, yet I will venture to foretell, that when theſe ſhall have been as long dead as their Predeceſſors, they will not want their due Share of Praiſe from a grateful Poſterity. In the mean Time, ſince theſe captious Criticks who are ſo reſerved in acknowledging living Merit, agree with us in paying juſt Regard and high Reſpect to the Memory of thoſe venerable Prelates, and renowned Champions which adorned our Church in the laſt Century, I ſhall beg Leave, thro' your Paper, Mr. Baldwin, to recommend to their Attention a few Obſervations from the Writings of one of them, in Hopes that the Good Senſe, and Chriſtian Spirit, contained therein, as coming from a Writer againſt whom they have no Prejudice, will be ſuffered to have their proper and natural Effect upon their Minds and Tempers.

"This (ſays Archbiſhop Tillotſon) we bewail, that thoſe who agree in the ſame Eſſentials of Faith and Worſhip, ſhould be ſo forward to divide and ſeparate from one another merely upon Forms of Government and Circumſtances of Worſhip. What can juſtify the Breach of Communion and Peace upon ſuch Terms? Either Church Government is of Divine Right, or it is not. If it be, why do not Men ſubmit to the Form which is eſtabliſhed by Authority? If it be not, what Kind of Government can contend for that Right with any Equality of Advantage, againſt that which cannot be denied to have almoſt univerſally obtained in moſt Ages and Parts of the Chriſtian World?

"As for the Circumſtances of Worſhip, there is ſcarce any Man (continues the A. B.) hath the Face to contend, that any of thoſe uſed in our Church are clearly condemned by the Word of God, and what elſe can make them unlawful? One of the chief Cauſes of Separation is, Form of Prayer, the Lawfulneſs of which our Saviour abundantly juſtified, and I do not think was ever queſtioned by any Writer in the Chriſtian Church for near upon ſixteen hundred Years. And is it worth while to break the Peace of the Church, and violate one of the greateſt Precepts of Chriſtianity, upon little and ſlight Pretences of Unlawfulneſs, and doubtful Reaſons of Convenience and Expedience, and about ſuch Things as are no more reaſonable Grounds of Quarrels among Chriſtians, than the Difference of Mens Stature and Faces would be a juſt Ground for Mankind to make War upon one another? Where is the Power of Religion, when the Peace and Unity of Chriſtians is violated upon theſe Terms? It is a Sign that the Life and Subſtance of Religion is little regarded by us, when Men can afford to employ ſo much Zeal about theſe Things."

I am, Sir, your's, &c.

IRENÆUS.

AS many of your Readers are, I am perſuaded, uninformed of the Riſe of Popiſh Indulgencies, I ſend you out of John Deſſerre's Hiſtory of France, written under Henry III. IV. and his Succeſſor, a plain Account of it. The Tranſlation is as literal as poſſible, by Grimſton, 150 Years ago.

"Without Doubt, Leo X. uſed the Authority of the Apoſtolick See too boldly, diſperſing throughout the World, without Diſtinction of Time or Place, moſt large Pardons; not only for the Living, but alſo to redeem the Souls of the Dead out of Purgatory for Money; and for that, every one did plainly ſee, that thoſe Pardons were only granted to get Money, which the Commiſſioners for theſe Exactions demanded after an impudent and ſhameleſs Manner; it being alſo well known, that the greateſt Part of them (Commiſſioners) got from the Pope's Officers only for Money their Authority. Leo hereby incurred great Diſlike, eſpecially in Germany, where the Officers for this Collection ſold for a ſmall Price, yea, and played away in their Alehouſes an Authority to redeem dead Men's Souls from Purgatory."

The Pretence for raiſing this Money was, to redeem Chriſtians who were under Turkiſh Slavery; but, as Deſſerres ſays, "this holy Money went to ſatisfy the Greedineſs of a Woman (the Pope's Siſter) ſo as not only the Exactions, and the Agents thereof, but alſo his Name (the Pope's) became odious in many Provinces." *Life of Francis* I. p. 544, Fol.

Deſſerres appears to have been a good Man for one of the Popiſh Religion, and thought a very faithful Hiſtorian, ſo that you may be ſure the Pope's Wickedneſs in this is by no Means aggravated. The firſt Reflection to be made on this Piece of Hiſtory is, on the Stupidity of Mankind, who can be brought to believe that a Link or Shoe boy, who has the good Fortune to win at Toſs-up, or Odd-and-Even, a Scrap of Paper, with the Pope's Seal at it, can pardon the Sins of the Living, and ſend Souls from Hell to Heaven; and this Power too, not given by the Pope himſelf, but (as the Author obſerves) by ſome pilfering Clerk in the Holy Office. It is not extravagant to ſuppoſe a Shoe boy, armed with this Power, bruſhing his Cuſtomers Shoes, and forgiving him his Sins into the Bargain. I believe this Power at preſent is not ſo eaſily obtained of his Holineſs, as to be every Man's Money, as we ſay, were any one willing to buy it, but bigoted as Papiſts are, the Price would make the boggle, if it run high.

At the laſt Siege of Gibraltar, a Spaniſh Captain, a Priſoner in the Garriſon, and fearing to be hanged, had an Ambition to be canonized after his Martyrdom, for which he was in Treaty with the Inquiſitor General. After many Letters to and fro, the Captain deſired to know the very loweſt he could afford his Recommendation for, and was anſwered eight thouſand Piſtoles; but if he, the Captain, only wanted to be releaſed from Purgatory, one hundred and fifty might do the Buſineſs, provided he had the Happineſs to be hanged in the Catholic Cauſe. The Captain was rich, but would be no Saint at that Price, nor did he much affect hanging to lower the purgatory Terms. In this Perplexity, between Love of Money, and Love of Rank in the Kalender, as well as Diſlike for lodging very long in Purgatory, he fairly renounced at once Purgatory, the Kalender, the Inquiſitor and the Pope; and being much liked by the Engliſh Officers, for good Senſe and a pleaſant Humour, was conveyed privately to London, and not returned on the Cartel. He afterwards lived ſome Years in the Minories, in ſuch a Manner as he choſe, and then retired with another Name to Bruſſels.

Another Reflexion preſents itſelf here on the monſtrous Villainy of Popes, Cardinals, and all Eccleſiaſtical Orders in the Romiſh Church, who will for Money impoſe on the ignorant People the Neceſſity of implicitly believing Things, which they hold themſelves in the utmoſt Contempt and Deriſion.

When Cardinal Richelieu "was taking his Leave of this World, Father Joſeph, his Confeſſor, put him in Mind, that he had forgotten to bequeath Money for Maſſes to bring his Soul out of Purgatory. How many will do? ſaid his Eminence. Joſeph told him, the Church had not defined any certain Number. You are an Ignorant, replied the Cardinal, and the Church is another; there go juſt as many Maſſes to bring a Soul out of Purgatory, as there do Snow Balls to heat an Oven. See Gui Patin's Letters."

His Succeſſor, Mazarine, died laughing too: He made a Jeſt of Death, ſays Buſſy in his Memoirs, and conſidered Death as *une Bagatelle*, with a noble Contempt of the laſt Sacraments. It may be ſaid, theſe and other great Men had no Religion at all; and whoever ſays it, ſays what is right: The Popiſh Religion, as it is called, is only a Compound of Knavery, Folly, Superſtition, Nonſenſe, Blaſphemy and Contradiction, where Knaves gull Fools out of their Money, their Senſes, and their Souls.

Your's,

P. Q.

I Was not a little [illegible] last Year by the Outcries made about the Increaſe of Popery, eſpecially as at the ſame Time we were told there were now ſo many learned Men in the Church of England able to ſtop its Progreſs. The Univerſities, the ancient Springs of Learning, were dried up, and one of them particularly might rather be expected to countenance, than check, the inſidious Adverſary. By this melancholy Repreſentation of Matters made by *M. Mumpſimus*, and other candid and pious Writers, Men whoſe Intelligence and Veracity are not to be queſtioned, I was thrown into great Conſternation, and feared our Proteſtant Liberties could hardly hold out to the Year's End. But being advanced thus far in the Year 1766, without perceiving any very remarkable Alterations in Matters of Religion, I begin to take Courage, and hope the Caſe was not quite ſo bad as had been apprehended: And beſides I have the Pleaſure to ſee the Univerſity (that I mean ſo much ſuſpected) is not ſo degenerate as the above worthy Authors had been informed (for they who were never there muſt ſpeak by Hearſay: *& Non cuivis contigit adire Corinthum.*) The Sons of Alma Mater have proved themſelves worthy of the Advantages they enjoy in that literary Retreat, and give us Reaſon to hope, that ſo long as thoſe noble Seminaries continue to flouriſh, we ſhall never want able Champions to defend our Cauſe. I ſpeak this, Mr. Baldwin, with a Confidence and Satisfaction derived from the Publication of no leſs than four learned, ingenious, and judicious Anſwers given by Oxford-Men to that moſt audacious, artful, and fallacious Attempt of Father Phillips, in the Life of Pole. What the *Literati* of Cambridge have done on this Occaſion has not come to my Knowledge; But though they ſhould be ſilent, their Zeal will not be ſuſpected. And as for our Academies of Preſbyters, it is enough for them to ſhew their Abhorrence of Popery by an Attack upon the Church of England, and leave the Church of England-Men to carry it forward againſt the Papiſts: Such of them however, as in your Paper have modeſtly ſtiled themſelves *the Writers againſt Popery*, I cannot but highly applaud, and ſhall not grudge them their due Praiſe. Their Lucubrations, though ſomewhat ſnarling, I value, as the "*vigiles Canum Excubiæ*," which rouſe the Family at the Approach of the Thief: Or rather let me adorn them with the Encomium of the Roman Hiſtorian, "*Anſeres non feſellere, namque Clangore eorum Alarumque Crepitu excitus M. Manlius Vir Bello egregius, &c.*" that is, (for the Benefit of the Engliſh Readers) "The Geeſe failed not to give the Alarm, but by their cackling and clapping of their Wings, though no Warriors themſelves, they awakened the Guard, by whoſe Valour the Gauls were repelled, and the Capitol ſaved."

And now, Mr. Baldwin, my Terrors being conſiderably abated, pray give me Leave, through your Paper, to make my thankful Acknowledgements to our learned Oxonian Defenders for their uſeful Labours at this important Criſis, and to wiſh the Continuance of their vigorous Efforts; and at the ſame Time to reward the Vigilance of our cackling Sentinels, and make every thing agreeable to them, I beg Leave to propoſe (as Pliny tells us was done at Rome) *ut hâc de Cauſa Anſeribus è publico præbeatur Cibus.*

This friendly Intention will not, I hope, be loſt, by your declining to make it publick, at the Requeſt of,

SIR,

Richmond, May 3.

Your conſtant Reader,

GRATUS.

THERE is absolutely no dealing with these Oxford Wags, (and particularly the facetious *Gratus*, in your Chronicle of the 8th Instant) who are so arch on the Writers against Popery, and so clever at pelting them with Classical Scraps. However, they should take Care not to overshoot the Mark, lest they should break the Heads of some of their best Friends. The Maxim, "that every Man cannot afford to go a whoring to Corinth," which *Gratus*, I dare say, aimed at the Members of Presbyterial Academies, is capable of a very perverse Interpretation, if Corinth stands, as he seems to have intended it, for a certain Seminary, where it is to be understood, according to this Proverb, that the meretricious Learning there to be acquired, is not adequate to the exorbitant Price to be paid for it. A Circumstance which hath of old been Matter of serious Complaint. However, I do not see why a Joker, who thinks proper to laugh upon a grave Subject, should not keep to Truth. *Ridentem dicere verum quid vetat?* Now unless some Oxford Critick has suggested to Gratus, that instead of *dicere verum*, we should read *mentiri*, he should have said, that (not the Abilities, but) the Willingness of Church-of-England Men to write against Popery, was the Thing supposed to be wanting, by Misomumpsimus and his Fellows. It seems, that the four able Writers against Philips, the Biographer of Cardinal Pole, [illegible] Wherever they [illegible] be highly honoured [illegible] that seasonable Service, to the Protestant Religion; and not the less for that Incident in their History. Locke was bred at Oxford as well as they, and some good Things may be learned every where. Neither Locke, nor, as far as I can find, these four excellent Writers were Gremials of Oxford, when they published their respective Works so friendly to Liberty and the Protestant Reformation; and it has often been known that Men of good Sense and liberal Minds, after having been emancipated from the *Atmosphere* of their early Education for some considerable Time, have totally thrown off the narrow Prejudices of their first Institution. Has Gratus never heard of such, who imbibed their first Rudiments in Academies of Presbyters? But if these four Worthies are to be placed in the Column of Creditor in the Account; let us look at the Balance on the Debtor-Side: Where was Philips's Life of Cardinal Pole printed? Where were two late Professors nourished, one of whom has been openly charged with holding Principles of Intolerance, and the other with a Doctrine concerning Protestant Church Establishments, which can have no Foundation but where Popish Infallibity is acknowledged? The Cambridge Men are, I suppose, to hold themselves obliged to this Writer, that he will not suspect their Zeal, though they write nothing against Popery; that is their Affair, not mine. It may not, however, be amiss for them to profit by the Sneer of a Back Friend: Not that, in my Opinion, it would be much to their Disparagement, should Gratus hereafter assert, that going to Cambridge, and going to Corinth are two different Things. With Respect to Presbyterial Academies, it is certain, that the first public Attack upon Pole's Biographer, appeared in some spirited and very home Strictures in the Critical Review for the Month of June, 1764. And if I am not greatly misled by false Information, the ingenious Compiler of that Article never studied a single Hour in a Corinthian Academy. Indeed, unless this be one Instance, I cannot find that these Academies have written much of late, either against Popery, or the Church of England (for such of them as have appeared in your Paper, Mr. Baldwin, are not in his Account it seems to be filed, Writers against Popery) but then, the Reason of their Reticence, commonly assigned, is such a one as would totally ruin the Propriety of assimilating them to the Geese of the Capitol. The Geese of the Capitol had their *cibus e publico*, as a Reward for their cackling; the others are said to have it as a valuable Consideration for their not cackling.

I am, Sir, your's, &c.

Newington, May 10. *No Traveller to Corinth.*

To the Printer of The S. J. CHRONICLE.

SIR,

THE Ability of the Church of-England Clergy, and particularly thoſe bred at Oxford, being fully evidenced, by their learned Confutation of Pole's Life; their late Revilers would now recal their Slander, or rather change it, and pretend, "that not the Abilities, but the Willingneſs, of the Church-of-England Men to write againſt Popery, was the Thing ſuppoſed to be wanting by *M. Mumpſimus*, and his Fellows." Alas! Sir, are not the ſame ſeaſonable and maſterly Productions, which prove their Abilities, at the ſame Time an inconteſtable Demonſtration of the Willingneſs of the Writers? But, Sir, this Evaſion is not only weak, but abſolutely falſe; for the Charge repeatedly brought againſt them, by their good-natured Accuſers, was Want of Ability as well as Inclination to defend the Proteſtant Cauſe, as will manifeſtly appear from the following Quotations: "The firſt Queſtion, ſays the grand Cenſor, Miſomumpſimus, that I would aſk, is, what Care is taken to qualify our Parochial Clergy, to encounter the Papiſts? Is the Diſcuſſion of the Points in Difference, between Proteſtants and Papiſts, among the Academical Exerciſes now, or for ſome Years paſt, in uſe in our Univerſities? Is the ſlighteſt Knowledge of the Merits of this particular Controverſy at all neceſſary for a Man who is about to take Orders? I cannot after much Enquiry learn that either of them is the Caſe." I ſtay not, Mr. Baldwin, at preſent to anſwer theſe Queſtions, but only bring them as plain undeniable Proofs, that Want of Ability to appear in the Popiſh Controverſy, was the Thing charged upon the Clergy, and that Defect aſcribed to the Method of their Education. But ſtill more expreſsly the ſame ſagacious Obſerver lays it down very ſtrongly, "that every Mortal, of common Senſe, muſt ſee, that the Torrent is not to be ſtemmed by ſuch a Body of Men as the Parochial Clergy, *gifted* and diſpoſed as too many of them are." Here again I digreſs, not to ſhew what a ſtrong Bank theſe deſpiſed Parochial Clergy have already raiſed to ſtem the Torrent, unaided by the more *gifted* Brethren among the Diſſenters, but muſt inſiſt, that Ability, as well as Willingneſs, is here triumphantly proclaimed to be wanting in the Clergymen of the Church of England. When I aſſerted this therefore in my former Letter, I had no need of any Criticks' Aſſiſtance to clear myſelf from the Guilt of a *Lie*, which my polite Opponent (as an Illuſtration of his firſt Rudiments) would gentrelly father upon me. But after what I have here produced, unleſs he will take the ill-favoured Brat home again to its right Owner, he muſt (I believe you will agree with me) have a *Corinthian Countenance, though no Traveller to Corinth.*

I conclude, Mr. Baldwin, with a ſincere Wiſh, that the Rational and Moderate among the Proteſtant Diſſenters, laying aſide their Animoſities againſt the Church-of-England Clergy, would join with them Hand and Heart, in ſtrenuous Endeavours, to check the daring Advances of Popery on the one Hand, and the prevailing Infection of Fanaticiſm on the other; and am, Sir,

Richmond, Your obliged Servant,
June 2, 1766. GRATUS.

With regd to T. Philips life of Card. Pole

Mr Loveday suggests his advice that ye Writer of an Answer shd not content himself with Bp Burnet's assertions but have Anthony Harmer or Mr Wharton's censura of him in his hands by which his mistakes are rectified

Mr L. after reading the 1st vol. (for he had not yet read ye 2d) in his literary correspondence with Mr Bagshaw of Bromley, who is acquainted with Mr Ridley, did remark several mistakes of the Writer, not so much with regd to important matters of Argument, but with regd to historical facts & dates & names of Persons. & things which in gen'l shewd his inaccuracy - but of these small notes he hath none by him - he remembers he did note something on p. 358-9-96 - where refers to ye pref. before Dr Waterl. Serm. p 58

p. 27 the marginal date instead of 1513 shd be 1524

p. 107 - v. Burnet vol 1. p. 126 Lord Burnet in letter to Bp Lloyd p. 19 says of ye 1st Edit. of his 1st vol that he only took inward care of this, leaving all the others to the Bookseller's care making himself only answerable for this first

p 123 – rather Zuinglians than Calvin

p. 139 l. 9 & p. 140 l. 17 not reconcileable

p. 164 – see Carte III. 145

p 348. – see Souths Serm. vol. 5. p 243

p. 313 – E. Warwick not lineal heir to the Crown where there was a surviving branch of his fathers elder Brother

p. 319 Vienna instead of Vienne in France see Cave of 2 Bps each nam'd Guil. Durant as

p. 324 – Marg. date shd be 518

p. 206 l. 6. <u>Canons</u> see Thuanus here referr'd to.

p 407 – read but once married l. 12 – read Chalc. not Calc

p. 411. sense of ye Council obscurely deliverd

p. 444 many blunders here may be rectified by consultg Heylin p. 72.

259 Procopius represented as an Heathen Writer! see Fabricius's acct of him.

339 l. 6, 7 – nothing in Collier here referr'd to which will justify the assertion

see the Corrections of 2 vol of H. Reform & what he says of these corrections in ye pref. to vol. 3. & in ye introduction p. 7. NB the anonymous Writer was the famous Mr Baker of St Johns Cambridge

– with regd to Erasmus – v. last vol. of Leyden Editn – then perorativ of his Apolog. ad 24 libros Alberti Pii.

see Fabricius de Religione Erasmi Opusc. Hamburg 1738 4to

P 151.) Quir. in order to vindicate Pole from ye charge of bitterness & animosity agst H. 4. says. si de Regis potius excidio, quam salute potius cogitasset &c, cui bono tam acriter, tam amanter, tam prolixe filio ejus ad Ecclesiam redire in eo illo libro persuasset?

vd. Ep Schelhornii cum Animad. p. xxvs.

P 556) reproaches H. 4 & P Solus enim ipse Satanas in Homines post mortem savit. Quir. vd. Sect xxiii. p 102.

P 283) H. 4 departed — Adde vero sancti hominis finisse corpus. Sic enim non solum Ecclesia, quæ est in terris, judicavit, sed Ecclesia primitivorum in cœlis. Deus ipse tot miraculis ejus sanctitatem attestatus.

vd. ib. p 104

P 333) Cromwell — si a Damonibus eum vexantibus nominari debeat, non Legione

sco exercitus appellationem sortire-
-tur. Id. ib. Sect XXVIII p 12 S.

D. JHY called Antixti præcursor.
Id. ib. Sect XXV p 169.

P 160) Gardiner Tonstal &c.

Quirini doth also mention them
in another place reckoning up ye
adversaries to ye work of Pole. "Extant
Poli operis oppositæ lucubrationes
Cuthberti Tunstalli, Dunelmensis Episcopi,
Johannis Stokesleii, Epi Londinensis (re
memorem Stephanum Gardinerium,
Præsulem Wintoniensem, quippe qui
pro regia quidem causa scripsit, at
Poli opere nondum uso, nec etiam Ri-
-cardum Sampsonem Epum Cicestrensem,
quem quare illo suo Polus consultandum sus-
-cepit) Petri Pauli Vergerii, Johannis Sturmii
aliorum. Id. ib. p 24 S.

P 167) Gardiner's treatise prior — falli quidem Burnetium, censentem Gardineri libellum de vera obedientia oppositum Poli scriptioni ab auctore fuisse, fatetur Schelhornius. ap. L. p 260, 261.

Pole's book on ye Church's unity begun in ye beginning of 1535. Rolum manum admovisse libro illo componendo prioribus mensibus anni 1535. D. ib. p 206.

P 224) Fox. one of ye greatest personages of those times. Phillips p 14.

P 14) Longolius 33° to Pole but Mr P chuses with Quirini vi. p 206 to say 34.

P 535) Bucer Cancer Cambridge. Quirini vi. Diat: p 233.

P 88) a few lines Lower — became Truly Quirini words are haec verba statim subjungat. Diat. vi. p 244.

P 151) to forewarn H 8 of danger — Non quidem odii, sed contra flagrantissimi erga Henricum amoris fœtus, ad averta-da silicet amittendi regni pericula, qui-bus obnoxium se faceret, collimasse.

Quir. v 2. Animadversiones in Ep Schelhornii p 11. m r P might have

P 145 Note 2) learned from of which as L d Herbert p 410 is to be seen in Fox.

P 175]
ad Herbert ap company (p 449) & yet all Strangers removed. v Godwin p 81. Heylin p 84 2 Quir

Cosmo Gherius Bp of Jano died a very young man — at y age of 24. 1537.

Quir v 2. Diat. p LXXV.

P 319) Pole's 1 r Embassy by y encouragements of y Emp r & K g of France who promising to have no farther intercourse with H 8 q d hac de non-nulla signes ostenderetur populos angliæ ad tumultus, ac seditionem adduci posse.

Vita Poli p

P 416.) Index. Note 2 dele sequentia adorationem soli Deo tribuit Scriptura — Deus solus nominandus, & adorandus. Index p 234 & Cyril of Alexandria

P 193) Salmasius was born in France, & Scaliger was not a native of Holland — but Isaac Vossius ~~was born~~ were

P 402) ad tempus — hinc tametsi tunc in ad tempus peritia & doctrina deessent, ea supplere poterant directione Collegarum —

P 327) Parliament, & yt chiefly by ye reasoning & resolution of Cranmer — Collier v2 p 201.

P 446) Images, those wch had escaped ye visitation were now for ye reason ordered to be ~~taken away~~ &c That ye lively Image of St still not contend for ye dead Images, wch be things not necessary, & with ye wch ye Churches of St continued most godly many years;; Heylin p 46. Burnet v2 p 66 Records p 129

P 480) Parliament, From hence appears ye Parliament under Q Mary made themselves Judges of ye meaning of ye Ss & pronounced upon a cause with ye verse of Peclae Jurisdiction. Collier v2 p 352

P 329) Bp Sarum — If things turned out well & accdg to his wishes he knew he shd have his option of ye best — Si Res Ecclesiæ in Anglia restaurentur, non posse mihi deesse illic Episcopatus, si modo illis ipse deesse nolim.

Poli Concl. p 1086.

P 372) Concerning Cranmer's care of ye revenues of his See, v his life p 434.

P 322) Pole's Apology &c It is a true observation of Mr Wharton, y^t Exiles generally write wth Passion & Prejudice agst y^r own Country; so y^t ordinarily little more credit is to be given to y^r information, y^n to ye Intelligence of Deserters fm an Army.

Obserⁿˢ at ye end of Cranmr's life p 259

P) Pole's suspicious timidity

(p 24 Quir. v 3. & Poli Concl.)

& p 79 Marchionissæ Pescaræ

P 490) Mary's Bps imprisoned in an easy restraint in ye Tower Anno 1554 together &c

Strype's Parker p 29, 126, 141

P 78) no reward — & this he says in another
Letter upon pain of his head, if ye contrary be
proved. Burnet &c.

P 523) Clergy deprived for Marriage by Mary
& yt, not to mention yt it was an act of ye
civil power, was agst all ye rules of Justice to
deprive ym by virtue of a Commission from ye Qn
for an action wch was warranted by a Law then
in being.

P) I am well assured yt ye Kg his late fo's
Laws were all allowed & consented to with compulsion
by ye whole realm, both spirit & temporal.

Pref. Mary's Lr to ye Protector & Council v. Fox
v 2 p 701.

P) The Kg said before ye Parlt ye determina-
tion of ye Universities agst ye Marriage, & for ye
divorce, Chancr Audley desired ye Commons yt
they wd report in ye Counties, wt they had heard &
seen, & yt all men shd clearly perceive, yt ye Kg
hath not attempted ye matter of will & pleasure,
as Strangers say, but only for ye discharge of his Conscience
ye security of ye Succession to ye Crown. Burnet V. 5

P 490) Gardiner in his book de vera obedientia, & Bonner in ye preface had both of ym justified ye divorce. v.

P) SS ye ground & Rule — nec Parentum nec majorum error sequendus est, sed auctoritas SS & Dei docentis imperium; nam Judæi post Baalim abierunt quos didicerunt a Patribus.

Hieronymus in Jerem c 9.

P 553) Poles Ltrs almost profane — to Camillus Ursinus, Marchioness of Pescara, to Paul III P. P. Quir v 4. p 35.

P 360) 7 Months, or as ye Legate Pole expresses it — Superiorum mensium ignominia. Quir v 4 p 84. his long authenticall one to ye Bps of Pace & Navarre. after ye Coll. of ye Popedom. To K Philip p. 150. 162.

P) Pole's Ltr to ye Parlt — &c In his Ltr to Lots of Emp's Confessor written some time after-wards he seems to tell a diffl Tale — speaking of his writing to Lords Councellors — he tells him

- id & sæpe tentassem, sed frustra, quod nec me coram audire, nec meas literas accipere voluisset.

Quæ p 41.

P 490) they neither sat, (saith a Living Witness of both these reigns) nor hanged in Stocks, by legs or fingers, nor have their heels in chains; they are whipped, nor scourged, as some of y^m used others. In sickness time they had their p rogresses, both for health & pleasure too,
(see also p: 116.) Rowell agst Dorman p: 10.

P 548) - Hæc multorum Literæ ex Urbe nunciant & Vomnem Legati de Latere auctoritatem ex hoc regno sustulisse, atq; eam privilegia Legati nati, a superioribus Pontificibus Cantuariensi Ecclesiæ, ad hujus regni commodum & beneficium concessa, abrogasse, neq; quicquam ad constituendam Religionem præter ordinariam Episcoporum potestatem, reliquisse.

Quæ. v 5. Ep Poli Paulo IV PP. p 27.

P 553) prophane applications of S.S —
to Pope Julius 3. p 3. n° 1. to Paul 4th
n° 14 p 27. to do no 15 p 31. to 3d Greg 2d
no 16. p 36

P 347) Note. v Roman Ed. Ad 1551
at ye conclusion. Flaminii mortem in
annum superiorem rejicit Antonius
Caraccidas, qui vitam Pauli iv scripsit,
qui & ipsum Paulum tunc Cardinalem
Carafam dictum morienti astitisse, & cum de
Flaminii, quem alioqui diligebat, fide dubi-
taret, magna pietatis & humanitatis offi-
cia præstitisse, testatur

P 421) Thus too does Sixtus Senensis in
the dedication of his Bibliotheca Sancta to
Pope Pius v confutes his Infallibility for ye
Lowest care he took of ye Pass, to purgari &
emaculari curasti omnium Catholicorum
Scriptorum, ac præsipue veterum Patrum
Scripta.

De Unitate. To Henry

ita ægro, ut ne communem quidem rationis sensum atq usum retineas: p 2.

P 351) Stations v Platina in vit Gregorii 1 & Onuphrius Panvinus's Lib de Stationibus. Forbesii Instructiones Theol. L 12, c 8. § 14. p 650.

P 175) Crowd &c Some of ye Nobility & Companies of ye City being admitted, rather to be witnesses than Spectators of his death. Godwin p 81 – v Heylin

P 245) Outlawed – Pole not attainted till 1539 at ye same time as his Mother was. Godwin 95 or 1540. Parlt Histy v 3 p 142.

Quia vero, qui jus habet vocandi, ipse Aepus & Primas, in Custodia detinetur, nec Capitulum, eo nondum condemnato & privato nec sede vacante, id sibi juris vindicare non potest, ideo ut rata essent eorum decreta &c [illegible] &c.
Pole to Kg Phillip Novr 11. 1555. Quir. v 5. p 51
wherein he gives an Acct of wt was done in Convocation

P 70) Note 2 Anti-Sanderus v Guiccardine Big

P 370) Constantine - whose moral character hath been by none so much impeached, as by some of ye first names. (& y^t in such strong terms as wld make one even suspect ye reality of his Conversion) by charging him with such impiety -

P 25) silly stories, y^t an attempt to confute y^m wld be as silly as to believe y^m -

P 312) Pope Gregory VII Canonized. & Sainted &c

v Enthusiasm of Method of Papists &c (v 2) p^t 3 p 274. v Mosheim, 1, 513.

P 35) Communiter quidem in impias doctrinas invectus sum acriter & adversarios, non ob malos mores, sed ob impietatem, non seguiter mordi.

Ep Lutheri ad Leonem X. P. prefixa Libello de Libertate Christiana. p 1.

P 343) Stapleton Note 1. & ye Writer in another p^t of ye Work is very severe

upon those whom he termeth Politicians, & particularly upon Bodin † for pleading for the rather liberty of conscience. v Gen. a. 6 post Dominicam Pasionem. p 259. * whom he represents as an enemy to Xty

x What else keeps ye church of Rome itself, when so lately as 1702 it's infallible head, &c — for upholding & maintaining ye very power

343
Pallavicini tells us that ye Pope hath in his Possession two special keys, altera scientiæ, qua immunis redditur ab errore in verbi divini explicatione; altera Potestatis, qua in ipsius manu Jurisdictionis plenitudo collocatur.

Conc. Trid: Lib 21. C6. n 16.

Decreed acts — Laws — by agit. pious frauds, fabulous wonders. prefer ye marvellous to ye truth.

Roffensis Antistes, mihi confessus est se magnopere admirari, quid sibi vellet ea in re divina Providentia, quod Lutherani aliquot longe felicissime enarrarent sacras literas, & tamen essent Hæretici. Vdalsenus. p 250 251.

P 205 / ~~his humility~~ Let Erasmus be his own Interpreter, & speak Degustavi &c. wt Erasmus means here is only yt he had dipped into his works, yt nothing more was intended by yt word wch Mr Pearsons perused, will appear fm wt he sd ye next ~~yr~~ ~~afterward~~ in a Letter to Roremund Moderator of ye University of Louvain, yt he had dipped, or cursorily ran over some pages of Lr — cujus libros, (says he) non legeram — ex gustu quem ceperam, ex degustatis verius quam lectis aliquot Lutheri paginis &c.

Eras Roremundano Lib 15. p 494

all ye weapons of relˢ Controversy sld be drawn frm ye SS alone.

innumerable swarms of Monks; refused yr talents & labours to Society. in ye senseless pursuit of visionary perfection.

m m p 90

Valdesso 345 nothing is more common than ye abusive application of ye term (Arian) to persons who have held ~~[illegible]~~ opinions quite opposite to ~~[illegible]~~ those of Arius.

to worship with ye Eye more than ye heart - more ready to offer to ye Deity ye laborious pomp of an outward service, than ye nobler, yet simple oblation of pious dispositions & holy affections.

Mosh. VI p250.

The Monks little troubled ymselves with ye advancement of solid learning, or rational theology.

310.

Alban 2d Butler,) since ye above was written I have had ye opportunity of seeing & perusing some pt of ye boasted performance, - a work it is certainly of gt knowledge & erudition, but written with such prudence & timidity yt ye Author must have done gt violence

to his good sense & understanding. He has indeed rejected those miraculous monsters wch distinguished ye lives of ye fanatical devotees of his Ch, wch recommended ye to our Credulous reader for his diversion & entertainment, & wch rendred ye fourth & former Catholics so ridiculous — but he has still retained so much of these grossficties tho' artificially refined, as is a lamentable proof of ye power & influence of inveterate rooted prejudices, over well informed minds notwithstanding yer pretended freedom fm Priestcraft & superstn & assuming to themselves ye credit of an enlarged & liberal way of thinking. — he shades his pictures with dexterity — conceals, dissembles, excuses, acknowledges & denies with such amazing caution, yt ye truth do not but appear considerably under his pen.

P) who knoweth not wt it is to thirst
r who takes peculiar pleasure
in slandering his Memory — or who
collects with pleasure every anecdote to
fully his character —

P 374) Causes of y Councell, & y Popes a
Party — v Review of y Council of Trent, B. 1. c6
p 24.

P. 377) needy Bps, wch v Residence of Bpss
was under consideration, lest y Papal authority
shd be infringed, his holiness commanded yn to delay
y Conclusion of y debate for 6 months, in wch he cre-
ted no less yn 40 Bpss of Apulia & Sicily, to secure a
clear Majority at y further debating yt particular
yt expedient did y Business, these holy revd Fors
knowing for wt purpose they were sent by whom
made & supported, yt the no other Language but
yt y Council do not set Laws to y Pope, for y all
y Members of it were his holinesses Creatures. p47
Grandem hunc concilii celebrationi pecunia-
-rum summam adsumpsit Pontifex Pius IV,
quippe cujus Menstrua ad vitae Sustin —

fathoneru Salaria Legatis, cunctis inopia prebu
Episcopis y Sacerdotibus, omnibus y Ministris libera
-lissime tribuerit. Q mereris antiquitus Impe
-ratorum erit. Omph. vit. Pii II. p 203
P 319) so fair a Portraict. agreeable to wt a
Pope of old said "yt England is y garden
of our pleasure, an inexhaustible pot: y
where yre is abundance, out of much, much
may be taken, Matt: Paris p 683. Innocent 4
351) Indulgences, v Complaints of y Clergy 88.
of Liege agst yr Ld Gregory VIII p 250. v 259
P 320) Traytor — Emanuel Sa in
his book entitled aphorismi Confessano
-rum after studying yt point 40 Years
says he is clear, yt y rebellion of a Cler
-gyman agst his King is no treason,
because he is no Subject. Sa, in verbo
Clericus. 227.
P 539) Wood in another place the speaks
thus — taterminum certe positum videbantur
artes liberales, nisi iisdem opportune subve

– inspet, bonasq Literas pristino nitore donasset,
anglorum Pallas, Virgo utriq doctissima, nec mi-
-nus Bellatrix Elizabetha, L 2 p17. see ye Place

P 250 ~~Monks~~) Monks they were, indeed, more properly ye Subjects of ye Pope of Rome yn of ye Kg of Engld, & every enlargement of their Possessions was an encreasing of ye power of a Foreign Prince, even in ye very bowels of ye Kgdm.

220) Monasteries – were not only unalienable, but were in a manner torn off fm ye Common wealth, & dismembered, as it were fm ye body of ye Society, they were free fm Public Taxes, or fm being obliged to contribute any thing towards ye safety or defence of ye Kgdm.

P189) Cardinals – Plurality of Benefices Forasmuch as Cardl A by his Sumptuous Equipage, & numerous train of Horses & Domestics, doth singular honor to ye Ch of Xt, We think it proper to add to his Preferments another Bprc – Jortin's Erasmus v 2 p97 – Eras: Adagia Sileni Alcibiades P 653.

P214) Hutten ye title of ye Book is this Ulrichi ab Hutten cum Erasmo Roterodamo Presbytero Theologo Expostulatio. B 491

P 319) ⊕ Angha vere hortus noster deliciarum, Putens inexhaustus est, ubi multa abundant, multa de multis extorqueri possunt. Mat Paris's words.

P 351 Stations) this word is taken borrowed from ye militar customs of ye Ancients Romans, when they stood centry, or were upon duty a night, or a day, Thus in a similar Sense, ye ancient Xtns gave ye Name of Stations to ye Visits wch they made ye Churches & continued there some time in Prayer.

P 351 Indulgences) Baronius (a dno 55 n 55) says yt 20 Stroakes of a ferule upon ye Palm of ye hand is equal to one day of Penance. Dominic ye Hermit was ye most memorable Fanatic Calculator of ye merit of Flagellation yt ever existed, he found out, yt to repeat ye Psalter 3 times, & to bestow 3000 Lashes upon his back was equivalent to one Year of Penance. So yt in proportionably increasing his Psalter & his Strokes he cld procure a longer indulgence. He grew at Last so expert at ye practice, by using both his hands very ~~dexterously~~ adroitly yt in ye

course of 6 days he did repeat ye Psalter 300 times over, & bestow ye discipline of ye whip by 300,000 lashes upon his hardned body. & We are moreover assured yt ~~he~~ by courageously persevering in ye rigours & cruell devotion, he acquired 1000 Years of Penance. — Laudabilis usus, ut Pœnitentiæ causa, fideles Verberibus se ipsos afficerent, flagellis ad hoc paratis idoneis. Baronius a ◊ 1056. n 8.

See Chais Lettres sur les Jubilés v 2. p 524 &c. See also Stillingfleet's Answer to Cressy p. 204

Richd Haverung Abp Dublin,
dreamed yt a Monster heavier
than ye whole World stood upon him,
& wn he awaked, he thought it to be
his Bp^rick, & renounced it.

a Story told in Croftons defense of ye Covenant agst ye Oxford Reasons p 96.

Wn ye Pope 343 receives his triple Crown from
ye Lord Deacon He is with ye following address
Receive ye triple Crown, know yt you are ye Fr
of Princes, & Kgs, ye Governour of ye Wrld, & ye Vicar
of Xt upon Earth to whom be Honour & Glory for ever
Chais, v 3. Let 20 p 843.

P 425 Terms clear & perspicuous) Surely it is a gt reproach to ye Ch, & a thorough confutation of yt positive assertion, yt ye ~~Terms are really so fallacious~~ doctrine is delivered in Language so fallacious as unavoidably to have misled yt Generality of her Sons, or in Terms so abstruse as even a good Understanding cannot develop wthout some proficiency in critical legerdemain. v Stevens Heron v I p 194 Note

P 205 De gustavi) Si Lutheranus est qui tuetur quicquid Lutherus scripsit, aut scripturus est, quid me dementius, si Lutheranus haberi velim, quum illius, dat 1521 libros non legam? Erasmi Epp. Jul. Montjoio, Lib 17. P 561. Ed. Basil

Again years afterwards he appealed to Pellican & to Farel, saying to ye former, Scis me in nullo Dogmate per omnia sentire cum Luthero, nisi quod minimum vere lacat corruptos Hominum mores. Of ye latter he declares yt tho' he had ye presumption to say me recte sentire, sed non audere profiteri, Et hac audacter instillare animis Hominum,

conscius quam aeris Mihi fuerit de omnibus fere Lutheri dogmatibus cum ipso Constantio.

Eras. Ep. Pellicano an 1526. Lib. 19. P 677.

P 520 Provocations offered to & the R Bps writ in defence of ye Bull of Pius 5 for deposing her. & Gregory Martin in 1584 publishes a treatise to stir up her Gentlewomen to behave to her as Judith did to Holofernes.

P 399 Thuanus's Acct of ye calumny agst Bera &c] This relation of Thuanus is confirmed by ye acct offered to above wth Bera gave of it to Calvin his words are Porretana, inquit, (sc Cordis Lotharingus) in altero quodam libro suo sic de scripsisse audivi: (nam librum ipse non vidi) nempe q^d Xtus sit in Coena sicut in Cano. Hoc cum Reginam & qui aderant audientes commovisset, excepi, si liber ipse coram offerretur certius multa certiora his reply was ye wth regard to ye accusation, ita mihi non indignam modo sed etiam blasphemam videri, ut non modo non exstare in scriptis meis, sed neq in alterius

Ullius qui doctrinam Ecclesiarum Reformatam amplecteretur affirmarem. His answer satisfied ye Lords, who looking upon it as a most impudent Calumny, ~~refused~~ it no more | p 248. Epist Calv.

P 399 Laines's Speech) allocutus est Reginam hora ferme integra, sed ita inepte, ita stulte ut nemo posset rerum contexere, quum ille stultus inter cætera in extremo fabulæ actu lacrymaretur. ~~p 255.~~ p 255.

P 252 Cochley) See some of his Writings agst Luther down in Sotomajor's black Book. p 703

P 298 Pighius) his treatie de Libero arbitrio, & de peccato originali in ye same predicament p 36.

P 110) The Laws of Engld was always a Barrer agst ye whole System of ye Papal Power.

P 250) Monks — principles incompatible with ye obedience they owed to ye Laws of ye Country.

P 117) From ye 1st planting of Xny amgst ye English till ye time yre is not so much as one Canon yt reserves any one Case to ye Judgemt of ye

Bps of Rome, or so much as takes notice of any Author-
-rity they had over ye English Ch, but, on ye contrary, ye
constant conduct of ye English Bps was such as shews, yt
they ever esteemed ye English a free & independent Ch,
& under no obligations to ye Bp of Rome, but such as
gratitude, affection, & an opinion of ye wisdom & holiness
of those Prelates laid upon ym

~~Or~~ Inett's History of ye English Ch P 255. c 16
as cited in Ld Littleton's Hist: of H. 2. vs, p 462
Notes, where are further Observations on ye Independen-
-cy of our Ch in ~~the~~ earliest times, proving yt it
was not in any degree subjected to ye authority of Rome

Pope dispenses with oaths — of allegiance. — with incestuous marriages of Kgs — Clement VII to Francis I of France.

Garnet was Provincial of ye Jesuits — of a politic gate character.

Blackwel chief or Superiour of ye Priests — difference betwixt ye Regulars & Seculars about ye oath of allegi: Walsh in Ireland.

the s
enticing 2 obnoxious Persons of Consideration to come to his Court, with assurance of safety under his Sign Manual, then seizing ye Persons & publickly declaring yt he was resolved upon yr destruction. Pole however is silent wher they were killed or no.

5

warmth of yᵈ Opponent, We may pass over yᵐ with only
lamenting yᵈ common Infirmity of Humanity, & attending
wholly to yᵈ weight & force of their Reasonings

Unity of Opinion can never be expected & Uniformity
of delr may be wishd for, indeed but amongst so many discordant
Principles yᵗ will necessarily arise frᵐ diffᵗ persons
taking yᵈ same things in diffᵗ lights, will never take place
learned Men, wherever they may be allowed to do it, will
think for themselves, & tho they be mistaken or fall into
Error, a candid Reader will not immediately impute
to yᵐ there crimes or there Opinions they are not chargeable
with, will overlook some objectionable fancys frᵐ a pathetic
attachment to a favorite System provided yᵈ fundamentals of
Knowledge & delr are not undermind, will thank God for
wt is valuable in him, will imagine he had some reasons
for his peculiarity, yᵗ they were & result of some mistaken Con-
viction, & as knowing yᵈ best & ablest of Men may err, will
correct with kindness, remove with charity, & spare yᵈ Man
tho he may correct yᵈ Sinner —

Rebellion after dissolution of ye lesser Monasteries.

Burnet vs p 227 — 233

The Monks before their Dissolution, as if foreseeing their impending ruin, had taken pretty good care to feather their own nests pretty well, they had set ye Yearly Rents very low, & raised ye fines very high, yt they might have wherewithall to subsist wn they shd be turned outs of their houses. Rapin vs p 821. Burnet vs

[illegible] for

Lands taken fm ye Monasteries at 20 Yrs purchase wch amount at yt time to 30 Millions 500 & 3 Three Thousand 400 Ls. Stevens Notes. Rapin vs p 823. note

When an Heretic is condemned ye Civil Powers are required under pain of Excommunication, deprivation & loss of authority & offices to execute yt Sentence

Barlows Bull p 162.

St Andrews finger Burnet v 1 242

where ye Connection will ~~what goes before~~ not answer, or wilful misconstruction will soon be found out where Scholars can have recourse to Books, & he must thank himself for his carelessness ~~ignorance~~ or his insolence.

How far ye Writer of ys Life is chargeable with these faults will be seen in ye Sequel, who has moreover treated ye Religion of his Country with yt insult as if his authority was ye sole Judge of Controversy; ye good Man We are to thank him (preface P. 7) for not speaking out, but sacrificing much of his own way of thinking by suppressing not only some justifiable but some displeasing things, by ye Specimen he has already given Us We do not reckon Ourselves much obliged to him for his civilities, or think yt he has omitted any one Article wch might render ye Reformers more infamous or more ignorant yn he has represented ym. indeed wt else cd be expected fm him who retails ye virulence of Sanders & Cochlæus, agst whom authority he well knows yt was fm ye beginning rais'd such exceptions as yt ~~agst ye~~ evidence of ~~a~~ common & profest Calumniators.

It is by no means ye Intention of these Papers to deprive Cardl P or any of his Friends of their just praise, since is yt Religion & Learning wch makes Us blind to ye Merit of

Pope's principles drown ſr. yt Universal Superin
tendency wch obligd him to watch over ye spirit Wel
fare of each pt of yd Church & give him a right to use such
measures as are proper to effect it P 170.

Roffensis antistes, mihi confessus est se magnopere admira
ri, quid sibi vellet ea in re divina Providentia, quod Lutherani
aliquot longe felicissime enavarent sacras literas, & tamen effecit
Haeretici. Volusenus de animi tranquillitate. p 250, 251

severity felt by ye Clergy at yt Day ye shamefull pittan
ey allowed ye Parish Preist, for wn H 8 seizd yr Estates he
served ye same allowance to ye Cle wch ymselves had thought
sufficient for ye maintenance of ye Preist, — How far true or
false ye accusations agst ye Profess'd We can only judge at yt
istance of time frm ye Evidence delivered in History wt credit is
be given to ym, frm ye depravity of Human Nature We must
ust not expect to find no Vices or Errors in such a
omiscuous Multitude, & yre is gt reason to think
t ye Commissioners, tho' they might here & there aggra
ate Matters, were yet tolerably impartial, as they gave
timony to ye Order, decency & Religion of some of ye
nasteries. The Commiss for different Countys were
fft neither do Legh at all appear to be a cheif, or more
tive than Bedyl or London or Laighton. if they
used their power, & falsifyd their trust, yt be to ymselves
y were but poorly rewarded for it does not appear they
me in for any pt of ye plunder, neither do We hold Our
lves oblygd to vindicate ye Methods they used in many
laces to procure a Surrender, & We sincerely com

Becket a St of ye 1st Magnitude, whose Stship consisted in
affronting, Excommunicating his Bror Bps & in defending
Eccles Tyranny & Usurpn. FitzStephen tells us yt God reveald
his future greatness to his Mr. who saw in a dream her Sleep yt she contain
ye whole Castle of Cant. in her Womb. & as soon as he
was born ye Midwife declard he had lifted up an ABp
frm ye Ground. & whilst he lay in ye Cradle his Mr dreamt
yt She told ye Nurse yt he had not a Quilt, or Coverlid, being
told he had a very rich one, she desird to see it, but so large yt she cd not
unfold open it either in ye Bed chr ye Hall, or even in ye St before
ye Door ye Nurse said it was so large she cd not feel ye end
of it, it seemd to cover all Engld. pretious yrfore surely
Could be yt was usherd in ye World wth such miracles attending
his Birth. The Occasion of ye Quarrel betwn him & H
is well Known. there were indeed Some Things wch
happend before ye gt breach wch contributed to enflame
ym agst one Another. ye Kg wanted to make ye Clergy
amenable to ye same Laws for Capital Offences as ye
Laity, ye ABp insisted upon yeir Priviledge of being

tried in yeir own Courts, & in case of Conviction to be degraded & depriv'd of yr Benefices, & yn upon a relapse or breach of ye Laws he was yn (being a Lay man) to be tried by ye Civil Magistrate, by ys Means many of ye Ecclesiasticks had been too favourably & ye State had taken yt Umbrage at it. Fitz Stephen had ~~given~~ related 2 Events wch put an end to ye Kg & ye Bp's friendship — a Clergyman in ye Diocess of Worcester had lain with a Young Woman & killed her Fr, ye Kg wanted to try ye Man in his own Cts, ye ABp refused it & to prevent his being delivered to ye Kg's Justices order'd ye Bp to imprison him. — another Clerk had stole a Silver Chalice him likewise ye Kg wd have had tried in his own Courts, but ye ABp degraded him in his, & ex abundanti to appease ye Kg burnt him with an hot Iron — these very provoking Circumstances & ye ABp going still farther & taking every Opportunity to irritate ye Kg, & to push matters to ye utmost extremity, saying & unsaying, sometimes promising to give ye Kg Satisfaction yn retracting yt, & fulminating agst ye Kgdm, till he had wearied every body

out any ways concern'd wth him. His Murder was
indeed an outragious & indefensible act, tho as he
had a most turbulent & otherwise violent temper he cd
not
but have rais'd many violent Enemies, his Suffragans
many of ym abhorr'd his violence, & ye Pope endeavour'd
but in vain to mollify his Warmth, as appears by most
undoubted authorities viz Beckets own Letters printed
wth his Life at Brussels 2 V. 4to 1682. We see in his
life nothing to deserve ye Character of a St but of one
driven on by ye impetuosity of his Passion to ye most
outragious & indecent Offences. & he died not in
Defence of ye Ch or his Religion but out of an obstinate stiff-
ness to protect Offenders agst ye Laws of ye Land, & to call
it pleading for Priviledge of ye Papal Power, he was
therefore his & not Xts Martyr. & Stapleton affirms yt even
upon yt Acct he deserves yt title, neq enim certe magis abund-
est a Rom: Pont. Martyrem pronuntiari qui pro Authorita-
te Pontificia asserenda occubuit, quam qui pro fide Dni

scius fuerit, so y^t a claim is y^e, y^t a little after he adds
Quanquam y^e Martyrii causa talis est, ut si nulla vitae
nctitas praecessisset, sola tamen ad Sancti nomen ad
ipiscendam sufficiat. v. T. S. P. 53. 54. v. T. Cant. We need
envy y^m y^e honor of such $\overset{holy}{}$ Martyrs, wch y^e evidence of dis
ied Lusts & Passions shall entitle Men to y^t double $Appell^t$.
as y^e precious S^t. came into y^e World by Miracles so was his
last made $\overset{as}{}$ remarkable a Preist saw in a Dream a B^p in his
pal Robes in y^e body of y^e Sun. a Woman saw y^e Moon fall from
Heaven, & destroy'd by Swords. & he work'd Miracles y^e very Day
he was buried — y^e blind y^e Lame, y^e deaf, y^e Paralitick, y^e Possess'd
were all cur'd, & likewise $\overset{were}{}$ y^e Disorders of y^e Cancer, Dropsy, fistulas
swellings &c y^e Lepers were cleans'd y^e first Y^r, & Numbers of y^e
Dead were rais'd by Water mix'd with his Blood, y^t Fitz
Stephens assures Us so. & y^t as He suffered more y^n any $\overset{other}{}$ Late
Martyrs so his Miracles exceeded those of any 1st Intera
veder tells Us moreover y^t his Passion y^e very day it hap
was reveal'd by y^e Holy S^t. Godric y^e Hermit (Anachorite)
liv'd 160 Miles f^m $Cant^y$. & y^t when y^e Monks were
forming his Obsequies, whilst y^e Body lay upon y^e Bier

towards Morning He lift up his right hand, & gave ye Blessing
v P 299. in Savils Scriptores post Bedam. This to ye A.B.
of Sens. (Senonensis) informs ye Pope in a Lr to his holiness
who moreover tells him yt he appeared unto many & assured ym
he was not dead but alive, & shewed ym not Wounds but only
Scars of Wounds. yt a blind Man by anointing his Eyes wth his
warm (cruore) blood had recd his Sight, & yt he lighted ye Wax
Tapers wch were round his body wn they were put out. v ye same
book P 300. In such plenty were there Miracles yt Be-
-nedict ye Abbot of Peterborough who dyed in all 20 yrs after
viz in 1193. wrote 5 V of his Miracles. P 301 wt cd be expected else
he begun before he was buried, & after We have been told
gravely yt ye Pope once tasting his cup of Water found it ye
richest & sweetest Wine Hoveden 29 d. & by another of ye B.
his Mistress giving him a fine new Garment, & mending his
torn hair Shirt. v Gononi Chronicon SS Dei para p 176, 17
asserted by ye Author of reflections on ye Devotions of ye R Ch, & yt
a Bowl being turned into a Carp on a Fasting Day as ye
of his Life says cited in ye same place, We are not

ined at ye wonder working power being kept up. it brought
t to ye Priest's mill, & serv'd to fill ym wth romanical notions
wh ye machinations of ye Ch. but how best to enslave ym & ye bind em
to ye Pope — ye 6 Articles are these as I find ym in Sn. P 32

The living Body of ye St having done such wonders, ye Writers of his life
& grave of Philadnecia & ye Hist. de Mirac. &c will supply us with ample ~~food~~ matter of ye
marvellous & incredible, & as if yt was not enough. Sn. has recorded
some very curious ones performed by some of his old Cloaths v. P 108 &c.

Henry Boxhorn Prof. of Div. at Louvain says De
Eucharistia Harmonia &c. yt he was employed in ye Index
Expurgatorius of ye Low Countries publish'd by command of ye Duke
of Alva under Arias Montanus says yt wth his own hands he
struck out no fewer yn 600 Passages in ancient Writers
wch seem'd to contradict ye doctrines & claims of ye Ch. of Rome
The reflection upon ys base affair made him examine ye
ts freely & ~~come~~ become agst Ch — &c.

hlaus was notorious for fraud, calumny, lying, & yeir Sister vices. v. Slei
Ep. Dedic. Pallavicini Bossuet &c are ashamed to make use either of
ame or testimony. Mosheim v. 2 p 18 note.

Pole given to make Judgements P 251
a Rel^{n} wch on acc^{t} of ye absolute singleness of its System
admits of no change or abatement p 260

Cath: Ch never censurd ye difference of opinions — P 285
perhaps not judicially — but private D^{rs} did — ye Seventy-
Pighius — Tapper — Sadolet, Curiales —
St Augustin in defence of Persecution L^{r} 93 of y^{e}
new Edition, 48 of ye old to Vincentius a Donatist B^{p} who
had charged him with inconstancy in formerly being as much ag^{t}
Persecution as violent for it now. A D 408. & again to Boniface
185 new 50 old Ed^{n} AD 417 L^{r} 164 to Emeritus L^{r} 166 to
ye Donatists. L^{r} 204 to Donatus. L^{r} 167 to Festus. some
of w^{ch} ~~with~~ a Fr Version were published by an ABp of Paris to
justify ye persecution of ye Protestants in France, with y^{t} extraordinary
title :: ye Conformity of ye conduct of ye Ch of France for reuniting ye Protestants with y^{t} of ye Ch of Africk for reuniting y^{e}
Donatists with ye Catholick Ch. see Bayle's Philosophical Commentary
on ye Words of ye Gospel compel y^{m} to come in 2 V containing
remarks on these Letters of St Austin usually alledged for y^{e}
compelling of Hereticks p 3

7 Sacrifice not heard of before 1200. ye Council of Trent ye first who made it Number an Article of Faith.

Transubstantiation – Disputable in ye 9 & 10 Cent^y – made an Article of Faith in ye Council of Lateran 1200

Communion in both kinds Universal for above 1000. Pope Gelasius ad 500 ye Lob ye People either partake of both kinds or be kept from both. Council of Constance 1416 first depriv'd ye Laity of ye Cup.

Purgatory no Article of Faith till Trent – led by Legends.

Invocation of Sts – no example for 300

Image Worship. Epiphanius & Cyril – established by ye 2d Council of Nice – condemn'd by ye 4 of Francfort.

Indulgences not for 1200

to Viribius Bp of Astorga

This Ep of Leo ye 9th is brought by Mamburgh to prove yt Usury is a capital crime & may be punish'd with Dt. in his 2d of his Life of Leo.

Servetus burnt at Geneva 1553.

Gregory 13 revis'd & corrected ye Roman Martyrology

Pole in a Lr to P.M. Paul 3 - calls him Secundum Deum Patrem, & Dei Patris locum & Vices in Terris gerentem agnoscimus. 14. Apparatus p xl

Quirini's Apology for Pole's acrimony is yt he said non suo nomine sed Pontificis & Eccla v1 p ×61 · +cl v3 16. preface

Cardl Beaton made By Paul 3 whose Worth is illustrated says Quirini in sapientissimo Opere de Servor. Dei Beatif & Beator. Canoniz L3 c33. along with Fisher as a Martyr. v 3. p 23. jcv

Bp of Navarre, Pacenius censures Pole's acerbity L4 p 80 yt P call'd Henry a Mahometan P Enarr. Ed ro y Luther. v 3 p 26. Mark of Monk v 2 p clxxi

P Intimates at Viterbo Flaminius, suspected of Her Peter Carnesecca, Prothonotary, afterwards a declared Apostate, & ye Marchioness of Pescara & Galeatius Caracciolus v 3 p 6 & p 72. celebrated Marquis di Vico was an Intimate of Flaminius but not of ye Viterbo Society.
Pescara v 3 p 73.

Jansenists a Grieve in Sadolet &c v 3 p 86.

Ochin v 3 p LXXVI. & v 2 p CCLVI.

Impia crudelitas Pharaonis Angliæ — Patriæ salutis & libertatis Oppressor. Cochlæo Epla. v 3. p 2.

Lr to Cardl Burgenius upon his Mrs Dh v 3 p 36.
Do. to Cardl Marcellus to p 75. & p 76.
Damien a Goes to Pole — accepimus, &c adversus Regem Angliæ aliquot doctissimos libros conscripsisse, quorum apud nos nullum extat exemplar præter unum, isthinc dono ad Franciscanum Anglum — a Regis Oratore igne concrematum est — præter unum exemplar &c. v 3 p 38 - 12 Octr 1540

Pole in answer " De meis scriptis, quæ ad te mitti postulas nihil equidem hactenus edidi, nec vero scio, quo pacto in illius manus, quæ dicis, illa pervenerint, cum edidero, ut tuo desiderio satis~~factum~~fiat, curabo.

Peter Arethin quoted again v 2 P p 5.

Camillus Ursinus v 2. P p 13. CLXI

Sadolet to Contarenus — to Pamere - P himself his firmness
upon his Mrs Dh v 2 P p 18-19

Compare ye end of ye Lr to Cranmer with ye end of ye 3d B de Unitate. v 2 P p 36

Address to Cardl Beaton - abt ye Habits. v 2 P p 44.

A Young Englishman Studt at Lovain ~~at Loyek~~ writ to Pole upon writing his Book de Unitate - telling him Quae ad Regem & Ejusdem Consultores, a tua Paternitate in Britanniam scripta privata mittuntur, ea credo cum maximis Cachinnis excipi, & ceu nihil ponderis habentia videri.
v2 p c. 100.

Flaminius's Reln p cx — cxiv — owned his heresies censured in ye Index Romae 1559 — cxv — see Calmet's character of him. cxvi.

Isidore Clarius cxvi. v.

Pighius cxxvii. Gunthenus (as Quirini tells us) ye Writer of his Life, "nusquam acrius insurgit quam ubi cum Haereticis (adversus quos perpetuum ac implacabile bellum institu~~it~~erat) Hierarchiam Ecclesiam gravissime tutatus est. cxxix

Propriety of ye time p 231 — Sadolet says rather ye contrary

to Cochlæus. v 2 p cxi.

an anonymous Bp saw it in Print & wrote copy . v 4 p 85

Henrici cor lapideum qd perpetuo resistit voluntati divinæ.

v T 2 p ccli.

Pole apud Inferos versari Henrici Sævitias recollgens —

Tho' Becket v 2 p cclii.

Quirini's exculpation of Poles vindictive Spirit v 2 p 33 p 8

Priuli Abbas San Salvador. ?

p 8 — Turca Occidentalis, gravior Xti hostis, quam

Turca Oriens. v 2 p 198 &c — . magis infestum regno

Xti — illum inimicum Dei in impietatem declinantem

Viterbo Society agan v 4 p 11. x Turcha Occidentalis — An

Powers call to oppress Engld. v 5 p 156·157.

Card^l Altaemps v Annal 1536 p 737

Verger Nuncio to Clemt 7 & Paul Annal p 102.

Senate of Constance ne vim Conscientiæ afferret — p 100

Intumuerant dudum Germanorum animi, viden
Romanensium mores, plusquam prophanos; coeperantq
de excutiendo Romn. Pont. jugi clam per circulos age
quo factum est ut quum primum Lutheri scripta
in vulgum prodiere, mirum quanto applausu ab
omnibus suscepta sint —

Pontifex jus suum mordicus tuetur dum timet
Suorum conventum, dum [ut libere loquar plus apud
eum valet privatum commodum in generali Synodo
forte periclitaturum quam Xtni populi salus &c —

Cajetan told ye States of Germany at Augsburg
Monachum non audiendum, qui tot Blasphemias in
Romm. Pontn. scripsisset — The States replied iniquum
esse Hominem inauditum damnare, compelleve ut
quæ scripta se propugnaturum asseverabat, nisi convi
revocaret. Epta 689. Lb 33. p 381..

Alfonsus Valdesius P. M. a Luther Enemy
who seems to have been abt ye Empr.
Valleoleto 1520

alium profligare vi Pont. a generali Synodo

Transubstantiation. b Concil de Roman. c 4 Can 2.

- Scotus says before ye Council of Lateran 1215, it was no point of Faith, Bellarm. de Euchar Lib 3. c 21 dates its rise 500 yrs, & says it was sub Anathemate statuitum, but yt yr Ch never did come into yr Opinion, & in ye Florentine Synod to Calety as 1439 refus'd to adopt ye divine Transmutation & ye Head Pope Nicholas invented ye Word in persecuting Berengarius 1059 & ye Late Council authorized for matter of Faith 1215.

Intumuerant dudum Germanorum animi, viden
Romanensium mores, plusquam prophanos, cæperantq
de excutiendo Rom^no Pont. jugo clam per cuniculos age
quo factum est ut quum primum Lutheri scripta
in vulgum prodiere, mirum quanto applausu ab
omnibus suscepta sint —

Pontifex jus suum mordicus tuetur dum timet
Xnorum conventum, dum [ut libere loquar plus apud
eum valet privatum commodum in generali Synodo
forte periclitaturum quam Xni populi salus &c —

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esse Hominem inauditum damnare, compellereve ut
quæ scripta se propugnaturum asseveraret, nisi convi
revocaret. Epla 689. Lib 33. p 381..

Alfonsus Valdesius P M. a bitter Enemy
who seems to have been abt ye Empr.
Valleoleto 1520

Transubstantiation. b Concil
de Roman. c4 Can 2.
- Scotus says before ye Council of La
teran 1215, it was no point of Faith,
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dates its rise 500 yrs & says it was
sub Anathemate statuitum, but
yt Can never will come into ye
Opinion, & in ye Florentine Council
to Calety as 1538 refus'd to adopt
ye divine Transmutation & ye Head
Pope Nicholas inserted ye Word in
persecuting Berengarius 1059 & ye Late
Council methodical for matter of
Faith 1214.

The Indulgences of former
were indeed relaxations of
-cal Penances, wch were
hainous Sinners, & remitted
to ye dispositon of ye Penitent
but ye Primitive Ch knew not
of ye sacred treasure of Satisf
-tion of ye Sts where of ye Pope
ye Key & can alone dispense
Bellarm. does indeed as good
wp ye paint of Antiquity on he
it is no Wonder, if ye are not
ancient Authors yt make me
of these things in ye Ch wch are pe
only by use, not by writing.
de Indulg. L 2. cap 17.

of former days
thers of Canōm
s^d were enjoyned
remitted accdg
Penitent
knew nothing
e of Satisfac
s of Pope keeps
dispence y^m
as good as give
ity wch he says
t are not many
make mention
wch are pecand)
g.
s 17.

Corrigenda & reformanda est Eccles^a
stica disciplina quæ jam-diu depra
vata atq corrupta est. Orat. Presid Conc
Trident Sess. 11.

Suppressed Spirits gather more Autho
-rity, punitis ingeniis gliscit Auto
ritas. Tacit. Godesc. Roremund.

Degonstein Comment. Inos &c. see
his exculpation from being thought
such a Patron or defender of L^r. in
his Eple to Roremundanus L 15
P494-497.

Ille nova appellat, quibus ipse
non assueverit. ita hinc novus erit
Hilarius — Cyprianus, Hieronymus,

Augustinus nihil vetus praeter
Scholas decantata dogmata,
Ecclesiam ordinariam cum ad
-mittit.
Detestati sunt impudens Hominis
mendacium (Eg mondani) cum dicent
Lutherum haurisse e nostris, cum ex veteribus
Scriptoribus hauserit, si quid hauri
ut praedicant, qui illius legere
libros. p 946.
Nemo me audivit vel unum Pontificem
Lutheri dogma cum
non deserent magni Theologi, qui
non verentur affirmare nihil esse
in Luthero quin per probatos Autores possit
defendi — p 944.

potuerat hoc malum profligare si Pont. a generali Synodo
non abhorruerit, si publicam salutem privatis commodis anteponere
-rit, sed dum jus unum mordicus tenet, dum obtusatis auribus, pro
fortasse affectu, Lutherum damnatum & flammis devoratum cupit, unum
-cum Rem totam perditum ire video ni deus ipse rebus suis suc-
-currat. Valdesius. Ep. 722. L 34 p 412
Valledolet. 1521.

Petri Martyris Angleri Mediolanensis Protonotarii
Apostolici, Prioris a Gratia Granatensis, a Consiliis Rerum
Indicarum Hispanicis Opta - Paris 1680.

Eras. Rotterodami - Auctoris damnati - perspicue
exhibentur - Lactenus prohibita, nunc vero cum expur
gatione permissa R B Opera omnia Erasmi cautè
legenda, tam multa enim inesse correctione digna, ut
ea omnia expungi possint.
Index Prohibit. Madrid 1667 -

Tournon. Letter foe to Protestants. Anan p 84

Pole to Edwd 6

magnam partem eorum librorum quos scripsi in hoc decreto oppugnando consumserim (viz de Supremo Eccl^æ capite) reliquam in ipso Rege graviter vituperando, qd hujusmodi decretum fieri primum passus esset, deinde tam severe & crudeliter tueri pergeret. § 4.

Nec tamen inficior in eis multa esse, quæ ejus turpitudinem ac dedecus ostendant, qd quidem necessario a me factum est cum vellem illi quasi sordibus ore fœdato, speculum simul ac Spongiam tradere ut seipsum intuens abstergeret — turpia Regis facinora — ignominiæ maculas. § 7

says he wrote his Book in a short time, paucis Mensibus totum Volumen confecissem. § 48.

Soft Answer turneth away Wrath, but grievous Words stir up Strife.

Vere affirmare possum nunquam me vel Puerum, vel adolescentem ad eum venisse, quin insigne aliqd ejus testimonium daret. § 49

N.B. Author damnatur Ind Trid

Instruction to ye Legate — super impietate & saevitia Regis Angliæ — omni cura velit Rex Xtianiss incumbere reductioni illius regni ad veram Relm nec ulterius pati Regem illu impune saevire in Deum qui sanctos, tamdiu a se & a toto Regno cultos v 2 Monum. Pral. p cclxxxix. lxxx

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~~the mischiefs of ye M~~ Place construction of ye Reformers constancy in dth. &c V5 p 88 —

Of ye Bp of Lod do 84 -

Nice in wt Diocess or Patriarchate. in ye Pontick Dioc. v Bingham B.2 c17. 27
the Bp of Antioch was ye Exarch & Metropolitan of ye East

Respondet Pontifex quantum ad se spectaret, bello Apparatum presto esse - &c Pallav. L5 c14 s 4 & 5.

Lupus Sculanus's complaints freedom of Speech & other things deny'd to ye Bps - do L7 c4 s12.

The Cardl of Naples saw ye Unitas &c before it was finished ~~formed~~ Quirini v4 ap xlix. & Ep. 2 ye Pope dissuaded him fm publishing it do p 96

Synod of Scrimia in Poland p 329
Imperial Cities 330
Cromwell's blasphemous ~~Speech~~ le Grand
Wt becomes of ye Jesuit's Estates in France & Portugal, hath not ye Government seiz'd ym. Is yre not instances of yt in other States
Constantine's Baptism
Wishart called by Thuanus Sophocardium. p 63

Pole sd yt ye truth might be lost by a too eager zeal in oppo-sing Heresy instancing in Pighius who in endeavouring to confute ye whole of Lrs Doctrine concerning Original Sin came very near ye Error of Pelagianism. L 8 c 2 s 2. ed.

Justification by Faith alone ABp of Sens, Bp Cavea of Costanemy
L 8 c 4
Bp Giberti of Verona v V1 p 268.
Cosmo Gherius Bp of Fano V1 p 295 v Sleidan B 19 P 439.
v Thuan p 87
Contarenus V1 p 293
Cortesius abbas V1 p 299.

Aliis Armis sub eos dies bellum Hæreticis parabatur, Tridentinus in Germaniam accersitus a Cæsare, ad Pont.m postea illius jussu perrex-erat fœdus inter utrumq conflatum ad Hæreticos subigendos —
i.e. 12000 foot 500 Horse
Papa Centum Aureorum Millia. v ye Articles Pallav. L8 c1 S12

Non æque grata Iulii Contareni Bellunensis Antistitis Oratio cuncta fidei ac J. Xti meritis accepta ferentis, & nihil Operibus — &c
do L8 c4 S15.

Quarrel between Pacheco, Del Monte, & Madruccius
L8 c7 S10.
do Cavensis & Chiro. L8. c6 S1.
Cardl. Pole severely reprovd by Bps Bertanus & Astorga L6 c11 S10
other — Clodiensis & Del Monte L6 c14 S4.
Pacheco & Motriranus L8 c7 S7
Madruccius & Montanus L8 c7 S12 end.

The Legates at Trent being made acquainted wth ye League betwn ye Pope & ye Empr were not a little animated in their Proceedings noising it, yt Concilium Armorum vi confirmatum, forti brachio animoq constanti rem peracturum, cum ipsius Tribunal armatos non apparitores, prævalidum Exercitum haberet, & suarum quasi executorem Sanctionum Carolum Quintum. L8. c1 S3. ye conclusion

Pole in a long Lr to ye Cardl of Augsbourg dated Brussels 1554, vindicates himself frm ye reproaches of Verger, wth regard to his inclining to ye Protestant notion of Justificn, to his being in private at Augsbourg, wth a deformed Mnr, & aiming at ye Pope, but takes no notice of his disloyal treatmt of H 4 wch V presses home. v 4. p 150 - 158.

but in one frm London 1555. Hedors 1 v p LXV

As soon as ye Decree concerng Justification had pass'd, ym ye Pope & Legates began to think of translating ye Council, Cervinus parti-cularly was very earnest for it, but ye Empr wd not hear of it.

June 20 - 22. Xavier's Life

Pole de Unitate published by Paul 3 wn P was in Spain & 1 v p 313. 1539 see also v 4. p 88. 1 v p XIX

Injurious Words to H 4, 1 v p XXX

Consilium de emendanda Ecclesa in Index Prohib. by Paul
1 v p XLIII.

See a Lr of Ascham to Sturmius abt Pole.

Bartholm a Martyribus Illustriss. & Reverdiss Cardles indigent illustssma & Reverdssa reformatione
1 v p LXXX

Polus Camillo Ursino :
communicata Card. & Priul. quæ scripsisti, hoc
de Literis judicarunt. Scribam illarum te, au-
thorem verò, illum, qui mutos loqui facit, & ora
disertorum obstruit. 122, 23 Pontificem adivimus
ut exponendis mandatis tuis, vel Xti potius, ex
cujus mandato omnia illa scripsisse judicavimus,
123. de abundantia divinæ gratiæ, & effusione ejus
in te Spiritus accepit. Pontifex. 124. Deo per te ex-
-hortante. 125. Legatio mea Xti causa suscepta. 128. 9
Ut facta est vox Salutationis tuæ in auribus meis
statim exultasse in gaudio Infantem in utero Animi
mei. Unde hoc Mihi, ut veniat mater Dni mei ad
me. &c a profane application of Elizabeths Salutation
to B V M. 132.

Armentum ye Epithet used to Mark ye Mark. 135

To ye Cardl of Scotland
Scotia - suum nunc cardinem

—

Jenner's

Kingdon

The Generality of Men reason only wthn a certain narrow
rile, fm principles impress'd either by ye Authority of others, or
ir own Prejudices, but ye knowing Man & true Philosopher, &
much more yt true Divine, goes further & begins higher. He does
ot stop either at ye Opinions of other People, or at Notions wch are
ec'd before they are examin'd; he goes up till He has found such
ha'd principles, & a truth so clear yt it cannot be question'd.
y being discoverd he draws his Consequences, & never departs fm
m. T. P. S C. T p 123, 124.

Ind ithius 1 V p LXXXIII

ldes acerbity agst H in his Apology to ye Empr &c p LXXXIX
nim adverteat oportet eandem haud parum mitigari qd Arma in
ndem paranda tunc ille solum dicat, si Carolus nequeat tam
rtibus malis aliter mederi, deinde qd loquatur non sua, ut in Opere
cerat, sed Eccles.a voce qua Ejus Ministerio utebatur, & ex munere
iuncto sibi a Dei Vicario. 1 V p XCI V p XCII

li quoq3 dolori dum cerneret Paulum Pont.m manum a vibranda
Henricum Regem Excommunicatione, aliquantlo durius quam
e Patriae suae bono cadere arbitraretur, cohibere &c V 1 p 315

Index Prohibitorius Madrid 1667 Fol. Anton. a So

Erasmus P 256 — 315 —

Thuanus P 678 — 690 —

Senate of Venice wept at hearing of ye d^h of More & Fisher
V1 p 316

Pole ag^t gentle reconciling Measures. V1 p 318 – 324
V5 p 153 — 157

Numam & Numen at least as manly as quos fames magis, quam fama commoverat of Pole. V1 p 235.

As for those Antipathys & Enmities wch a difference of Opinions has occasion'd whole bodies of Men to conceive ag^st one Another, they spring f^m a foundation not only unconnected with, but quite opposite to all liberal Science, & owe their rise to Passions, to wch a Scholar's breast sh^d ever be a Stranger, & ungenerous & illiberal Disposition is sometimes carried so far to make Authors disregarded on no other acc^t y^n being of such a Society —

Hinc illæ Lachrymæ! —

T. P. S. C. T. p 184 183

Bede / AD 725 / tho a Monk speaking of ye Crowds yt
daily flocked to ye Monasteries — says ye Nobility & Soldiery &
People laying aside their Arms betook yemselves to Monasteries
perswaded their Children to retire thither too but wt yt wise
Man in time must chew. Bede Eccles. Hist. L. 5. C. 24.

In a Ep. to Bp Egbert of York AD 735, tells him he shd
make such regulations with respect to Monasteries, as shd be
best for ye honor of God & good of his Country, lest their Numbers
increasing, ye Kingdom shd by ye loss its main strength, & not be
able to withstand a foreign Invasion.

Ed Wharton. Bede Opera Theologica
He also advises him with ye approbation of K & Council
to lessen their Number, rather yn suffer yn to increase, to
the great Scandal See with yt support / Revenues, many of these Houses being
unworthy We all know ye name of Monasteries — To employ
ye Wealth thus no crime but a great instance of wisdom &
Piety, it being no more a Crime in one Pope to convert ye
Donations of another to better uses & purposes, yn
for a Judge to reverse a wrong judgmt, or a good Prince or
Pope to correct ye mistakes of a bad one

& adds yt notwithstanding ye great Number there was scarce a place fit for ye Education of Youth, or for men who were tired of ye World to retire to.

Ep ad Egbert p 260, 26

So far were they from being even at yt time those Schools of Learning & Virtue ye Legendary Writers wd persuade us they were. Bower v 3 p 255, 256.

He had just before hinted at these kind of Seminaries & yt by ye carelessness (incuria) of Pces donationesq stultissimas — no easy place

Peter Pence — where to found Matt Westmr Bri Sec. says Ina 725 (for this acc̃dg to Bede) imposed yt tax to build a Coll. at Rome for ye Youth of his Kgdom & his Pilgrim Subjects — yt College or School increased & its Revenues enlarged by Offa Kg of Mercia in 794, by another Tax, ye House or School being afterwards burnt Ethelwolph rebuilt it, & for its better support imposed ye tax of Rome-Scot or Peter Pence over ye whole Kgdom, wch till yn (ye middle of ye 9 Centy) been levied only in Wessex & Mercia.

v Matt Paris in vit Willegod

Bower v 3 p 356, 357 —

l Charity & Pones converted to their own Use, & called it
tribute due to St Peter

Pole before he was in Orders or had taken ye first
Tonsure Dean of Exeter p 95.

ter Martyr mentions ye Inquisitor Office with [illegible] so
ly as 1506. v p 167 B 19.

550 Jesuits petitioned Hy 2 of France for leave to teach School
Paris — only — 4 yrs after wch ye Diploma was read to ye Senate, &
communicated to ye Bp & Divines of Paris, who censured ye Society in
y strong terms indeed ending yr remonstrance in these Words
turbationem in civili & sacra administratione, querelas, lites, dissidia
tentiones, æmulationes, rebelliones, variasq; Schismata inducere — his de
is hanc Societatem in Religionis negotio periculosam videri, ut quæ
m Ecclesiæ conturbet, Monasticam disciplinam evertat, & magis ad
structionem quam ad ædificationem pertineat. no more attempts
made from yt time, till Francis ye 2d wn ye Guises yr fast
iends were in power. & yn Bellay Bp of Paris was consulted
gave in a warm appeal agst yr admission — but by ye Cardl
rain's Interest 1560 no regard was paid to it & ye King granted a
loma in yr favor, but ye Prelate was not very complaisant,
referred ye Matter either to a General Council, or to an assembly of ye
lican Church

at last at ye Conference at Poisi (7 Kal Octr) referente Bellay
& under many Conditions they were admitted – ye Univty of Pari
again interposed, having connected with ye famous Du Moulin – ye Cau
was tried before ye Parlmt, Versorius was ye Pleader for ye Society, &
Stepn Pasquier for ye Univty who was very severe in his conv
upon ye Society, & concluded his Invective by addressing ye Senate in
these Words Vos inquit qui nunc Jesuitas toleratis, aliquando
ipsi, sed sero credulitatem vram accusabitis, cum conniventi
vra effectum videbitis, ut horum artes, dolis, superstitione, dis
-simulatione, praestigiis, ac malis Artibus publica tranquillit
non solum in hoc regno, sed etiam per universum Orbem Chri
-num periclitetur. at last Baptist du Mesnil, ye Kings Advo
-cate, concluded, by perswading ye Senate to look into ye Bp
of Clermont's (Du prat son of ye Cardl) Legacy & convert it to so
other use, whereby ye will & memory of ye testator might be preserv
another way – in short Causa triduum integrum agitata, Senat
sive futuri securus, sive odio Protestantium, quibus debellandis
Homines nati credebantur, de negotio amplius deliberandum
censuit, libertate interim sodalibus publice Ludum aperiendi
Juventutis erudiendae concessa. iv Nonis Aprilis decretum
Thuanus B 37 S 8. 1565

Accdg to yt decree they opend a School at Clermon 1561

ent

Empr Maximilian pressd ye Pope to grant ye Cup - & Marriage

Philip by ye instigation of Pacheco ye contrary — ye Pope defend ye

ini

Senate of Constance petitiond ye Empr 1548 ut sibi liceat ad

ltimam usq Concilii celebrationem, in ea quam profitebantur

ung salutarem existimarent religione vivere. Thuan L5. 18.

urdol & Cabriers Thuan L6 S.6. in Jany 1545.

stird up by Cardl Tournon. see more L6 p124

Aonius Paleanus burnt by Pope Pius 5 AD 1566

Rome for saying Inquisitionem esse sicam distinctam

litteratos. Thuanus B39 p779.

Marchioness of Pescara was one of ~~these~~ the Nobility

belongd to Pet Martyr's private Congregation at Naples, ingeni

tate & modestia cum paucis comparanda. Thuan L3. p65

Jn Valdesio. see Quir v2 p xxxix.

arridente Pace ac serenitate temporum, plures in gente Nordanhymbrorum, tam Nobiles quam privati, se suosq liberos, depositis Armis satagunt, magis accepta tonsura, Monasterialibus adscribere votis, quam bellicis exercere studiis. Quæ res quem sit habitura finem, posterior ætas videbit.

Bede Eccles. Hist L 5 c 24. P311 2da Ed Chifflett, Paris 168

wn Wilfrid told ye Kg yt
Sd gave ye Keys of ye Kgdm of Heaven to Peter Oswy, ne yn I ipso quia hic est Ostiarius ille, cui Ego contradicere nolo, sed in quantum novi vel valeo, hujus cupio in omnibus obedire Statu ne forte Me adveniente ad fores regni calorum, non sit qui reseret, averso illo ~~et~~ qui claves tenere probetur. ye Popes being Peter's Successor — ye Kg promis'd to keep Easter wth ye Romish not ye Scottish Ct — Lib 3. c 25. p 177.

Wilfrid on ye Kg. Colman Scottish Bp cd not prove ye same pow given to Columba for Scotld

St Cuthbert's body was ye same 11 yrs after dt no alteration at all rather sleeping yn dead, Cloaths quite new Lib 4 c 30 p 240

of Edelthrid Wife of Kg Egfrid, for preserving her Virgin was 16 yrs after dh taken up as fresh as ever. B 4. c 19 p

Stapleton relect. cont 4. q1. art 13 says yt ye Trent
Council had power to make a proposition an article of faith
etiamsi non confirmetur ne probabili testimonio SS.
Subesse RP est de necessitate salutis.

RP potestas & infallibilitas est rei attiance cuiu-
scunq Sententiae pro norma & regula fidei habenda est.
Bellarm. de RP praef.

ye gay & splendid appearance of ye Ch allured ym new
reld amusemts, gods & godesses into ye Sts Male & Female
Frs of ye 4 Cent introduced an irregular worship of ye St.
massacred by cruel bigots of nominal Xns
Metaphysical terms of art will be accounted fundamental
doctrine — secured by yt faith wthout knowledge wch ye ch of R
recommends this by some called Fides Carbonaria.

Rem v 3 p 6

Survey their acts & monuments yir behaviour, doctrine, decrees & cen-
sures, compare ym impartially wth ye morality, ye simplicity ye prudence, ye charity & ye pol
of ye Gospel. p72] Ammianus Marcellinus s.d yt no wild beast was so
cruel an enemy to Men as most of ye Xns were to each other, Julian (says he) k
their quarrelsome tempers, nullas infestas hominibus bestias, ut sun
sibi ferales plerique Xtianorum, expertus. XXII 5. p de.

poss when he appointed him

+ Cardl

The Bp of Meaux tho well acquainted with ye principles of ye Catholic Ch, does not appear to have well known ye particulars of ye Refn of Engld.

Dr Courayer's Letter to Card. Noailles. p 14.

After Pope Pius had excommunicated Eliz, ye Recusants of ye Catholic were ever conspiring agst her life but most of ym got no other advantage by it, yn to make work for ye Hangman, if occasion by ye Papists were stricter kept yn before.

See Boulis for most — Compromise Pope Boniface 8 1300 Jubilee, yt appearing sometimes in habit of an Emperor, sometime of Pope, 2 Swords carryd before him as ye Ensigns of Civil & Ecclesiast Power.

Hildebrand a proud restless obstinate man.

condemned him but not without shedding plenty of tears over him as himself tells us — The tears of these Eph Bp were soon dried up & he had ye consolation to kill him with repeated cruelty & ill usage.

Never was any Man beaten into a right understanding, if ever did God give a blessing to such proceedings.

Zuinglius v Mosheim v 2 p 26. whom extensive learning, & uncommon
sagacity, & heroic intrepidity with a gt moderation
Ochin, remarkable for strictness of life & pulpit oratory, & Mr who
heard him once at Naples, declard y he preached with such spirit & energy
as was sufficient to make ye Stones weep Mosheim v 2 p 73 note

Paul 4 by a Bull made Ireland an independent kingdom

Doctrine of Purgatory, y Invocation of Sts, y worship of Images & relics, y
terms employed in these Canons are carefully chosen so as to avoid y
imputation of idolatry, in y Philosophical sense of yt word, for in y ss sense
of yt word they cant avoid it, as all use of Images in rels worship is expressly
forbidden in y sacred writing, in many places. but by Circumspection they do
not appear in y worship of y R C, wch is notoriously idolatrous in
both senses of yt word. v 2 p 100.

10

Letter from Morone to Pole (59) yt ye Pope was with difficulty brought to acquiesce, yt ye Lay Proprietors shld be suffered to retain possession of ye Ch lands, & yt in consequence of ye reiterated remonstrance of ye Empr & Ph & Mr assuring him nothing wld be done without it

Dissuasive fm Paul 4 agst Pole's acceptance of ye Cancr which he had been informed Mary had offered him on ye death of Gardiner.

This bold assertion may pass witht controlle at Rome or Liege, but where ye doctrines of Xnty are more known & better understood, it will be receivd with ye contempt due/ looked upon as ye ~~proceeding~~ as ye effect of falshood & arrogance.

35. 14. 7
35. 14 7
70 9 2
2 5
11 7
2
14. 0

ANIMADVERSIONS

UPON

MR. *PHILLIPS*'S

HISTORY OF THE LIFE

OF

CARDINAL *POLE*.

BY TIMOTHY NEVE, D.D.
Rector of *Middleton-Stoney*, *Oxfordshire*.

Nescimus, quo pacto ab initio rerum ita vidimus semper fieri, ut quotiescunque Deus quasi accenderet, & hominibus patefaceret veritatem suam, quamvis ea non tantum antiquissima, *sed etiam* æterna *esset, tamen ab impiis hominibus & hostibus,* recens & nova *diceretur.*

Juelli Apologia Eccles. Ang. p. 114.

OXFORD,

At the CLARENDON PRESS. MDCCLXVI.

Sold by DAN. PRINCE, at OXFORD; and by J. ROBSON, Bookseller to her Royal Highness the Princess Dowager of WALES, in *New-Bond-Street*, LONDON.

Imprimatur:

D. DURELL, Vice-Can. *Oxon.*

Hert. Coll. Nov. 1. 1765.

To His GRACE

THOMAS

Lord ARCHBISHOP of

CANTERBURY,

THE following attempt to vindicate the doctrine and character of our reformers, from the falſe repreſentation and injurious reflections of a late writer of the life of Cardinal *Pole*, is, with all humility and veneration,

inſcribed by

His Grace's

moſt dutiful and obliged

Son and Servant,

Timothy Neve.

PREFACE.

THE reſtleſs emiſſaries of the See of *Rome*, not content with the liberty of conſcience indulged them, are continually reviving the controverſy between their church and ours, and making encroachments upon us. Amongſt the many attacks to which their eagerneſs hath prompted them, and which of late have been very open and indecent; there is no one, in which the exploded errors of popery are worked up in a more artful and inſidious manner, than *the Hiſtory of the Life of Cardinal* POLE, which is a laboured, plauſible inſult both upon the civil and eccleſiaſtical Liberties of this country.

The

The performance, indeed, hath nothing in it, that may alarm us, or give us apprehenſions of its doing miſchief. But as every thing of that nature is looked upon as a kind of defiance, and, if not particularly conſidered, as a triumph too; the author of the following ſheets has ventured to accept the challenge. How he hath acquitted himſelf, the reader muſt determine. But whatever his ſucceſs may be, his endeavours are well meant; and he comforts himſelf with this aſſurance, that he hath ſtrictly followed truth, and hath not wilfully ſuppreſſed, or diſguiſed any thing. He is conſcious, indeed, that his work wants the ornaments of ſtyle to recommend it; and that ſome inaccuracies of language may have ſlipped from him, through the greater attention paid to matter, than to words; for he hath conſidered himſelf as concerned only with hiſtorical evidence; and that matter of fact, when plainly and faithfully related, would be more acceptable to thoſe readers,

readers, whom alone it is his deſire to pleaſe, than the gaudy decorations of affected eloquence; and he ſhall think his ends ſufficiently anſwered, if the pains he hath taken be any ways inſtrumental in promoting that Sacred Cauſe, which it is his ambition to ſerve. Many of the Plagiariſms, which the compiler of the *Engliſh* life of Cardinal *Pole* hath been guilty of, are taken notice of in the courſe of this work: But many more are unnoticed, to avoid prolixity. Only thus much may be obſerved in general, that the work itſelf is little more than a collection from other writers; and that there are not many notes, and not very many pages in it, for which he is not indebted to them: their references are taken, but their names induſtriouſly concealed. Thus, for inſtance, *Quirini's* preliminary diſcourſes to every volume of his edition of *Pole's* letters are only once openly referred to, (part 1. p. 208) though they furniſhed Mr. *Phillips* with the greateſt part of his materials. Whilſt

PREFACE.

Whilſt theſe papers were in the preſs, the author was honoured with ſome ſtrictures upon Mr. *Phillips* by the Reverend Dr. *Jortin*; and being unwilling to leſſen the credit of ſuch valuable obſervations, he hath put them in the Appendix by themſelves.

CONTENTS.

Vol. 2.

SECT.

CONTENTS.

Piddletown in the County of Dorset. In the List of the Vicars of that Place We find Reginald Pole Clerke on ye Death of Richard Hawdesart, dispens'd with propter defectum Inscriptionis sacrorum Ordinum, Instituted 20 Decbr 1532.

Hutchins's Hist: of Dorsetshire Vol. 1. p 494. who in a Note adds "This was Cardinal Pole: & Dr Downey (one of Pole's Successors) assured me, that the old Room still remaining on the right hand going into the Vicarage House, was built by him.

Bernard Oldham, Rector of Wardington Dioc: of Winton, by Grant of R Pole Dean of Winburn presented John Lambert Inst: on ye Resignation of Wm Cromwell or Chryshale to ye Rectory of Hinton Martel who was instituted 30 April 1525.

do Vol 2. 051

EXPLANATORY REFERENCES.

Cardinal *Pole's* life is cited from *Quirini's* edition of it, in his firſt volume of *Pole's* letters.

Lord *Herbert's* life of *Henry's* VIII. is cited from the ſmall folio edition, printed 1673.

Biſhop *Burnet's* hiſtory of the reformation is cited from the following editions, vol. 1. printed in 1681, v. 2. 1683, and vol. 3, 1753.

Sleidan's hiſtory from *Bohun's Eng.* tranſlation, 1689.

Father *Paul's* hiſtory of the council of *Trent*, from *Brent's Eng.* tranſlation, printed in 1629.

Eraſmi Epiſtolæ, from the *Baſil* edition, 1558.

Boſſuet's hiſt. des vari. des Egl. Proteſt. from the *Paris* edit. 1718. 3 Vol.ˢ 12ᵐᵒ

Heylin's hiſtory of the reformation, from the firſt edit. 1661.

Godwin's Annals, from the edit. printed with Lord *Bacon's* hiſtory of *Henry* VII. ſmall fol. 1676.

Fox's Acts and Monuments, from the edit. of 1641.

Sanders de Schismate anglicano, from the small 24° Cologn Edition, printed in 1610.

Hume's History of ~~the~~ England under the house of Tudor. 1ˢᵗ Edition 2ᵈᵒ 1759

ERRATA.

The mere typographical errors, being obvious and striking, need not be pointed out; those which affect the sense, the Reader is desired to correct, as follows.

Page 14, line 4 from the bottom, note, instead of *for tho'* read, *indeed.*—p. 16. *turbis sedandi* r. *sedandis.*—p. 35, at the end of note 2, add, *& Herrnschmidii vit. Luth. p.* 99.—*p.* 36, l. 17, *give*, r. *gave*—p. 38, note 1, *p.* 9, r. *p.* 7—*p.* 41, note, l. ult. *p.* 186, r. *p.* 286, and *p.* 56, r. *p.* 50 — p. 62, l. 14, dele *he* — p. 64, l. 13 after *nothing*, add *entire*—p. 69, l. 8, *be*, r. *he*—p. 80, l. 3, 4, *sollicit his cause*, r, *promote it*—p. 83, l. 8 &c. the authorities for the quotation omitted, add at bottom *Stowe p.* 554. *Cavendish p*, 166 — p. 106, l. 1, *In* r. *it* — p. 118, l. 20, *but*, r. *for* — p. 126, l. 3, 4, *inuations*, r. *innovations.* — p. 128, l. ult. note, and in 4 other places, *ibid. ibidem*, r. *id. ibid.* — p. 142, l. ult. *those*, r. *the* — p. 175, l. ult. *whom*, r. *him* — p. 188, l. 14, dele, *he* — p. 193, l. 10, *From*, r. *After* — p. 200, l. 3, *this*, r. *the.* — p. 202, l. ult. *this* r. *the*; and after *Colet* add, *which is here referred to*—p. 208, l. 8, *that*, r. *his*—p. 224, l. 14, *more*, r. *worse* — p. 228, l. 2, *defensible*, r. *defensive* — p. 229, l. 19, *they*, r. *it* — p. 235, l. 13, after *Dod*, add *collected* — p. 238, l. 3, *was*, r. *were* — p. 249, l. penult. note, after *farther*, add *back* — p. 282, note 1. *p.* 248, r. *ib. p.* 248 — p. 305, l. 6, dele. *but* — p. 306, l. 3, *such*, r. *his.* — p. 311, l. penult. *had sate*, r. *have sat* — p. 322, l. 9, dele *where* — p. 324, l. 3 fr bott. dele *and* — p. 330, l. 22, *have*, r. *hath.* — p. 340, note 1, *Home*, r. *Hornii* — p. 341, l. 3 fr bott. after *edition*, add *of Sulpicius.* — p. 353, l. 14, after *confession*, add *he*, — p. 354, note 1, *Wolb's* r. *Wolf's* — p. 356, l. 9, *Christ will see* &c. r. *let Christ judge whether what I have said be his, or merely my own* — p. 363, l. 12, from the bottom dele *to offer* — p. 368, l. 14, *better have*, r. *done better to have.* and l. 18, *nothing*, r. *any thing* — p. 380, l. 7. after appearance, add, *of bishops.* and l. 12, *wherein*, r. *when* — p. 386, l. 15, after *judged*, add, *the form in which they drew up this important article, with* — p. 387, note 4, add *Dupin*, 16 *Cent.* v. 2. B. 2. p. 32 — p. 390, l. 23, *the*, r. *that.* and penult. *them*, r. *it* — p. 422, l. 1, after *volume*, add, *in folio* — p. 486, l. 8 fr. bott. after *Christ*, add *or* — p. 492, note 1, 1554, r. 1553 — p. 500, note 1, l. 3, *dogne*, r. *dogue* — p. 501, l. 9, after *confirmed*, add *by Oath*—p. 508, l. 7. *the* r. *he*; and note *Indors*, r. *Tudors* —p. 518, l. penult. *absolutely*, r. *absolute* 19, l. 6, after *him*, add *such* — p. 522, l. 7, *caves*, r. *lives.*

C & P.

TO give your Readers a juſt Idea of the Diſpute between *Gratus* and the *No Traveller to Corinth*, it will be neceſſary to obſerve, that the four learned Gentlemen, who have animadverted on Phillips's Life of Cardinal Pole, were not brought into the Debate by the latter. And as ſoon as they were mentioned by *Gratus*, all poſſible Reſpect was paid to their Merit by me, and nothing queſtioned relating either to their *Willingneſs* or their *Abilities* to combat the Roman Catholicks, but whether they could be ſaid to derive either of them from Oxford. For my own Part, I ſhould have been very willing to leave that Part of the Queſtion relating to their Abilities, *ſub judice*, but muſt freely confeſs I am not yet diſpoſed to think that they owe their *Willingneſs* to engage in the Controverſy to any Influence from that Quarter. But ſince he hath introduced them a *ſecond Time*, it belongs to my own Juſtification to refer him to their ſeveral Articles in the Critical Review, where, perhaps, he may not find ſo much aſcribed to the Abilities of ſome of them at leaſt, as I was right ready to allow. I have heard it likewiſe obſerved by others, that ſome of theſe Writers ſeemed more ſollicitous to defend the Church of England againſt the Principles and Objections of the Papiſts, than the Proteſtant Religion at large. This Solliciſtude, indeed, they are likely enough to have brought from Oxford. But as the great Chillingworth, in purſuing his Victory over his Jeſuitical Adverſary, found it neceſſary frankly to diſclaim the Defence of any Part of any particular Syſtem, which was not immediately founded upon the Bible, I cannot but think there muſt be ſome Want of Penetration into the Nature of the Subject, where the Oppoſers of Popery, regulate their Anſwers and Defences with a particular View to the Tenets of ſome particular Body of nominal Proteſtants, and more eſpecially, where any conſiderable Parts of the Creed, Confeſſion, or Rituals of ſuch Body, have little or nothing to ſupport them but mere human Authority. If this Obſervation ſhould happen to affect any Part of the Anſwers given by theſe learned and worthy Writers to Father Phillip's Performance, it will give me Concern. But I hope they will remember that they were not brought upon the Carpet by me, but by their pretended Friend *Gratus*, who hath managed Matters ſo, as if he was deſirous of ſetting ſomebody a tilting at them.

With Reſpect to *Gratus's* Quotations from *Miſomumpſimus*, a ſhort Explanation will ſerve to ſet that Matter right. A Want of Abilities in the *Parochial* Clergy, does not imply any Want of Abilities in the governing Part of our Univerſities, who ought to have inſtructed them better, or in thoſe whoſe Province it is to examine into their Fitneſs for diſcharging their Clerical Functions; and every Reader of *Miſomumpſimus's* Letter (of common Candour, I will not ſay, but) of Common Senſe will obſerve, that a Want of Willingneſs to oppoſe Popery is aſcribed, not to the Parochial Clergy, but to their Superiors *alone*, in the ſeveral Departments there mentioned. So that after all, a little of the Criticks Aid, to quibble *Gratus* out of this *Miſrepreſentation*, is not to be deſpiſed.

Nothing could be more prudent in *Gratus*, than his Silence with Regard to certain Queries in my laſt Letter. But that he ſhould not ſtay to anſwer the Queſtions he cites from *Miſomumpſimus's* Letter, was both prudent, and ſingularly fortunate for him. He ſtood, indeed, at that Inſtant, upon the Brink of a Precipice without being aware of his Danger. Had the Temptation taken him to anſwer thoſe Queſtions, it is but too probable, that *one* Letter from *A young Clergyman of Cambridge*, in the ſame Chronicle with his own, June 19, and *another*, from *An Oxford Speculator*, in the Public Advertiſer the Day before, would have reduced him to the Neceſſity of having Recourſe once more to the Criticks for a commodious Solution of his Paradoxes.

I muſt confeſs I am one of thoſe who do not ſtand much in Awe of the Infection of any Sort of Fanaticiſm, the Fanaticiſm of the Church of Rome excepted. But for the reſt, I moſt cordially join in *Gratus's* Good Wiſhes, that Proteſtant Churchmen and Proteſtant Diſſenters would unite in ſtrenuous Endeavours to check the daring Advances of Popery. But let him truſt me for once, when I tell him, That they cannot poſſibly join Hand and Heart in this neceſſary Work, till each Party, laying aſide the *Peculiarities* of their reſpective Syſtems, ſhall agree to make their common Attacks upon the genuine Principles of the Proteſtant Reformation, in other Words, of true Chriſtian Liberty. Which, if they could be prevailed with to do on either Side, I would venture to foretell, that the Downfall of Popery, in Great Britain, could be at no great Diſtance.

I am, Sir, your's, &c.

No Traveller to Corinth.

The References are corrected throughout according to the Octavo Edition of 1767.

The Corrections in ye Mss Pages which are written under the Black Line

are to be placed amongst the Notes.

Reginald Pole ye Rector of Piddletown from 1532 to 1535

Dean of Winbourn-Minster AD 1535 upon ye Death of Henry Hornby S.T.P Master of Peter House Camb: Chaplain & one of ye Executors to Mary Countess of Richmond &c He was deprived of ye with other Preferments by his Attainder in 1536. & was succeeded in 1537 by Nicholas Wilson who was ye last Dean. Hutchins Vol 2. P 29.

ANIMADVERSIONS

ON

SECTION THE FIRST.

IT was not to be expected, but that the extraordinary activity, zeal, and ſucceſs of thoſe great and eminent Perſons, who were more immediately concerned in bringing about and effecting that important Revolution in Religion which happened in the beginning of the 16th Century, ſhould have rendered them the objects of reproach and defamation from the Members of that Communion, whoſe intereſt and gain they ſo effectually overturned. It might however be hoped that, at this diſtance of time, their manes would have been ſpared, and no endeavours uſed to perpetuate thoſe invectives, and hand down to remoteſt poſterity that obloquy, which violent ſpleen, and private reſentment, raiſed againſt them at the firſt.

In a Controverſy of the moſt intereſting nature, in which long-received Opinions were called in queſtion, and inveterate prejudices attacked; it is no wonder if the

paſſions took the alarm, and drew expreſſions of animoſity and rancour from the defendants. ~~Charity~~ will make many and favourable allowances for theſe. We pity the men, and lament the infirmities of humanity. But ſhould a Writer, after an interval of more than two Centuries, enter into an examination of the cauſe with a ſpirit of malice, ſhould he deſcend to ſcurrilities and perſonal invectives; he muſt be received with indignation and contempt by every honeſt Reader, even of his own Party.

How far Mr. *Philips*, the *Engliſh* Writer of the life of *Reginald Pole*, is chargeable with this offence to decency and good manners, will be ſeen in the following Papers. He ſeems to have imagined there could be no better method of extolling his Hero, than at the expence of all who dared to differ from him, not only of thoſe with whom he might have had perſonal altercations, or from whom he might have received perſonal injuries, but of thoſe whoſe ſole offence it was to think, in Matters of Speculation, differently from him. This is truly making himſelf a Party in his Favorite's quarrel: and, as ſuch, he muſt be anſwerable for any free ſtrictures which may occaſionally be brought againſt the conduct, temper, and abilities of *Pole* himſelf; who perhaps may have reaſon to ſay

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to this diſturber of his aſhes, why haſt thou diſquieted me thus, to bring me up, and ſet me before a freſh tribunal of thoſe, who would not otherwiſe have troubled themſelves about me? or ſought to leſſen the fair reputation I have hitherto been permitted to enjoy amongſt them, without any rigorous enquiry whether I was juſtly entitled to it or no?

The time in which *Reginald Pole* lived was, as this Author expreſſes it, as remarkable *an Epoch, as any ſince the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity*. The Revolutions in Religion, the revival of letters, and a liberal way of thinking and writing, the conſequence of the other two, have made it more canvaſſed, and better known than almoſt any other Period: and he who ſhall appeal to the teſtimony of thoſe times, ſhould take heed to tread upon the ſureſt grounds, and to be certain of his vouchers, not taking them at ſecond hand, but conſulting them himſelf, leſt he ſhould be detected either of ignorance or falſhood. Diſmembered ſentences, mutilated paſſages, perverted citations where the connection will not anſwer to the appeal, or wilful miſconſtructions, will ſoon be found out where Scholars can have ~~have~~ recourſe to books. "He, ſays Mr. *Chillingworth*, that "will accuſe any one man, much more any "great multitude of men of any great and

Philips: P. 1.

"horrible crime, ſhould in all reaſon and "juſtice take care that the greatneſs of his "evidence do equal, if not exceed, the "quality of the crime." [1] Mr. *Philips*, above attending to ſo reaſonable a law, doth not ſeek ſo much for evidence of accuſation as for matter of mere reproach; and, not content with reviling Perſons, hath taken upon him to treat the Religion of his Country with peculiar inſult. Yet it ſeems we are to thank him for not ſpeaking out; Preface p. vii. *for having a greater reſpect for the Public, than himſelf, and ſacrificing much of his own way of thinking, by ſuppreſſing not only ſome juſtifiable, but ſome diſpleaſing things:* but by the ſpecimen he hath given us, we do not reckon ourſelves much obliged to him for his civilities, or think that he has omitted any one aſperſion, which might render the Reformers infamous, or repreſent our Religion falſe and prophane. —— But what elſe can be expected from one, who retails the virulence of *Cochleius* and *Saunders*, whoſe authority, he muſt know, was from the beginning rejected, as the evidence of common and profeſſed calumniators.

It is however by no means the intention of theſe reflections to deprive *Pole*, or any of his Friends, of their juſt praiſes. Falſe is that Religion, and curſed is that Learn-

1 *Chillingworth's* Religion of Proteſtants. Chap. 6. part. 1. p. 310. 2d Edit. 1638.

ing which makes us blind to the merit of thoſe with whom we cannot in all reſpects agree: neither is it the deſign of this work to enter deeply into the Controverſy of the two Churches; only to rectify ſome grievous miſtakes of this writer with regard to facts and authority, and to vindicate the good name of ſome diſtinguiſhed characters, whom he has made the peculiar objects of his cenſures and reproaches.

Agreeably therefore to his own deſire, Preface p. VII. *We will ſtep back* 200 *years into the Manners, Religion* and *Policy* of the times he treats about, and form the beſt judgment we can from an impartial repreſentation of Facts, as if we had lived then, and were unconcerned about the Opinion of thoſe who were to come after us. And here, the high birth, the eminent ſtation, the real worth and the good qualities of *Pole*, are readily acknowledged: a reſpectable Character he was no doubt, but far from being that capital Figure he is here drawn. If compared with the Writers of his own times, we ſhall find his abilities, tho' not deſpicable, were by no means ſuch as would rank him amongſt the moſt eminent of his cotemporaries. His parts were rather ſpecious than ſolid; his talent lying more in florid declamation than in ſtrict argumentation. From his circumſtances and ſituation in life, he was frequently placed in thoſe

thoſe ſpheres of action, which ill ſuited his genius; which was rather calculated for ~~the ſtill ſcenes of life~~, where he ſhone to better advantage, than when he was engaged in thoſe employments or deſigns which required greater ſpirit, life and activity than he ſeems poſſeſſed of.

Preface p. VIII.

His Education was attended with all the advantages that high birth and affluence could command. He was very early put ſo forward in life by his excellent Tutors, that there was little doubt of his anſwering the expectations conceived of him, and making himſelf fit for thoſe preferments deſigned him by the King, who encouraged and maintained him. In the account that *Wood* gives of his reſidence and progreſs in literature in *Oxford*[1] he ſays nothing of *the academical exercoiſes performed by him, nor of their having ~~laſted~~ ſeveral days*, as Mr. *Philips* informs us *they did*. But he took this account from the foreign Writers of the life of *Pole*, who it is probable magnified his proficiencies, on being told that he was admitted to read the logical books of *Ariſtotle*; by which nothing more is meant, than that he became B. A. it being only the ſtatutable form of admiſſion to

P. 6.

1 *Wood's Athen. Oxon.* v. 1. p. 114. 2d. ed. which this Writer had ſeen and conſulted, having been obliged to him, (though he is above acknowledging it;) for the greateſt part of the particulars of the former page.

that

a Scene in still life

continued

that degree. From thence, for more improvement, he went to *Padua*, at that time the moſt celebrated place in *Italy* for the cultivation of the Belles Lettres. A young nobleman of his hopes and diſtinction could not but be received with open arms, at a place *then at the height of its glory*; which P. 13./ p 14 *Eraſmus* himſelf longed to viſit, and uſed to call, not, as Mr. *Philips* ſays, *the Athens of Europe*, but the *Italy* of *Italy*.[1]

As our Author is ſo greatly obliged to cardinal *Quirini*, for the account he has given us of the profeſſors of *Padua*, and the valuable acquaintance which *Pole* made during his five years reſidence in that univerſity, it is very diſingenuous not to vouchſafe once to cite the firſt chapter of *Quirini's* remarks on *Pole's* Letters; for he has not only tranſcribed the chiefeſt part of his narration from thence, but has taken almoſt every quotation and reference from him.[2]

1 *Quam ut olim Atticam* τῆς Ελλάδος Ελλάδα *quidam appellarunt, merito Italiam Italiæ quis dixerit.*
Eraſ. Ep. *Petro Bembo.* Lib. 25. p. 958.
See alſo *Quirini* v. 1. p. 219. where the above Letter is referred to; as is *Budæus's* to *Linacre* cited by Mr. *Philips* in the note at the bottom, p. 11. and alſo this Remark of *Eraſmus* concerning Sir *Thomas More*, cited in the ſame place, where he ſays of him, *multo adhuc majora ex naturæ ſuæ fælicitate præſtaturum, ſi hoc ingenium excoluiſſet Italia.* Quirini, v. 1. p. 223.

2 Where cardinal *Quirini* makes a reference to the page or book of any Author, ſo does the ſervile Mr. *P.* — where the one quotes at random, the other is obliged to do ſo too.

The

The great reputation of the Profeſſors at *Padua* had made it the common reſort of learned men, and of all who were ambitious of that character, and deſirous of being recommended to the notice of the world by thoſe who were confeſſedly the beſt judges of literary merit. Here it was where *Pole* began thoſe connections, which diſtinguiſhed his riſing worth. The Profeſſors had this extraordinary ſpur to their induſtry and diligence; they knew that they were forming the mind of one, who was the kinſman and the favorite of a great king, and might hereafter have it in his power amply to reward their labours: and ſome of them partook nobly of his preſent bounty, being maintained by him in his own houſe. They therefore took care to publiſh his praiſes, as of one who was an honour to them, and an ornament to their Univerſity.[1] Here commenced his cloſe intimacy with *Bembo*, *Sadolet* and *Longolius*, which laſted the remainder of their lives.

Whilſt he continued in this place, his acquaintance with *Eraſmus* alſo took its riſe. That great man had received from his friend *Lupſet* a very favourable repreſentation of *Pole*. He therefore entered into an epiſtolary intercourſe with him; which he began by recommending to his favour and

1 *Quirini*, v. 1. p. 201, &c. — 216.

eſteem,

eſteem, in the warmeſt terms, the afterwards well-known *John a Laſco*; thereby genteelly laying himſelf under an obligation to his new correſpondent. In one of his Letters he compliments him ſo far as to give him a detail of the controverſy between *Luther* and himſelf: and to this letter we owe that long, confuſed note of Mr. *Philips*, inſerted evidently to aſperſe the memory of *Eraſmus*, and to miſlead his readers; for in it he has jumbled together a long ſuit of letters, written ſome of them at the diſtance of 6 or 7 years from others; and not only inverted the order of them, but hath moſt unfairly repreſented them as written at almoſt one and the ſame time. The ſubſtance of this note is to be found in *Seckendorf*'s copious hiſtory of *Lutheraniſm*.' And indeed he refers to him, but declines telling us in what part of that voluminous work we are to ſeek it. Hence it is probable that he did not conſult *Seckendorf* himſelf, but truſted to ſome other author who quotes him; or that he here gives us a Specimen of one of his uſual arts, of confounding thoſe who would examine his authorities.

P. 19. / p. 21.

The epiſtle to *Melanchton*, which he here cites, he hath miſerably mangled. But why doth he take no notice of this clauſe in it, *Tum quod ſcribo, non ſcribo adverſus*

1 *Seckendorf* Hiſt. *Luth.* L. 1. p. 309.

animi

animi ſententiam? plainly, becauſe it makes full againſt him; and clears *Eraſmus* of the charge of prevarication, here ſo ungeneroufly intended him.

In the letter to *Vives*, Mr. *Philips*, by what art of conſtruction I know not, makes him ſay, "I have ~~wrote~~ a treatiſe on Free-Will," whereas he ſays only, (in an abrupt unconnected manner) "to confeſs the "truth, we have loſt free-will:" nor does he acknowledge that he believed nothing of what he wrote, as he is here repreſented: he expreſſes himſelf thus, *Illic mihi aliud dictabat animus aliud ſcribebat calamus.* Now if inſtead of retailing this ſtale weather-beaten calumny againſt *Eraſmus*, Mr. *Philips* had conſulted his able and candid Apologiſt, he might have learned that the words, "tho' perhaps referring to his diſ-"pute with *Luther*, and incautiouſly ex-"preſſed, yet cannot mean that he had "written againſt his *Conſcience*, but his "*Inclination*, and ſo had loſt his free-will; "this he frequently declared, and choſe a "ſubject wherein he really, and *ex animo* "differed from *Luther*; and all that we "can judge of theſe words is, what he "himſelf averred, that tho' very *unwil-"lingly*, yet very *ſincerely*, he had thus "written."[1]

[1] *Jortin*'s Life of *Eraſmus*, v. 1. p. 413, &c.

The

~~Iam profecto desii~~,
Ita profecto nunc habere desii liberum
Arbitrium, postea quam emisi in
Vulgus &c. Er. Ep. Aurbachio. L 19.
p 609.

and according to his real Sentiments,

published

A

The letter to the Senate of *Straſburgh* was written to complain of the aſperity of *Hutten*, who had ~~wrote~~ a very abuſive and ſcurrilous treatiſe againſt him, at which he ſays both *Luther* and *Melanchton* were vehemently diſpleaſed. With regard to *Luther*, he ſays, "that he had rather loſe every thing, than, by gratifying ſome people's paſſions, write againſt his conſcience; only he would not join that party, as well for many other reaſons, as for this, that ſome things in *Luther*'s writings he underſtood not, and ſome things he approved not." [1]. But it appears by his marginal reference, that our haſty Author took this epiſtle to be an apology of *Eraſmus* for that acrimony which he long afterwards expreſſed againſt *Luther*, in a letter to him not leſs than two years after the date of this. [2]

1 *Omnia recuſavi, quæ mihi principes obtulerunt, ut ſcriberem adverſus Lutherum, imo mea malui perdere, quam ad affectus quorundam ſcribere contra conſcientiam. Tantum iſti fœderi nolui dare nomen, quum multis aliis de cauſis, tum ob hoc, quod quædam in libris Lutheri non intelligerem, quædam omnino non probarem.*

Eraſ. Ep. L. 20. p. 716.

2 The reader may here ſee at one view the reſpective dates of the letters, *&c.* huddled together in this long note of Mr. *Philips*.

Luther publiſhed his book againſt *Henry*, in 1522.
Tonſtall's letter to *Eraſmus*, was written, in 1523.
Luther's letter to *Eraſmus*, diſſuading him from writing againſt him, is dated —— 1524.

Eraſmus's

P. 20. p 22. The great intimacy that ſubſiſted between *Pole* and *Longolius* gives our Biographer an opportunity of making a more particular relation of this remarkable *Ciceronian*. *Pole*'s life of him was the firſt, and the beſt ſpecimen, he gave the public of his abilities. It is inſerted in *Bates*'s Lives,[1] and is an elegant elogium. We are told there as well as here, that *Longolius* was born at *Mechlin*, and that too from his own authority; and yet in a letter of *Eraſmus* to *Damian a Goes*,[2] he ſpeaks in a moſt confident manner of his being a true *Hollander*, his father being of that country, and that he had this information from an uncle of *Longolius*. The whole bent of his ambition was the cultivation of eloquence, and the forming his ſtyle ex-

Eraſmus's letters with copies of his book, to *Henry*, *Tonſtall*, *Wolſey*, and the Pope's Secretary are dated, —— —— 1524.
Eraſmus's letter, to *George*, brother of the Duke of *Saxony*, relates to the *Hyperaſpiſtæ*, and is dated, —— —— 1527.
---- His letter to *Melanchton*, is dated, --- 1524.
---- To *Vives*, is dated — —— 1527.
---- his angry letter to *Luther*, is dated, 1526.
Eraſmus's book contra *Pſeudo-Evangelicos*. 1529.
---- Letter to the Senate of *Straſburgh*, dated, 1524.

1 Vitæ ſelectorum Virorum. *Bateſius*, p. 240.

2 *Purus putus Hollandus, prognatus e patre Hollando, in oppido celebri Hollandiæ, cui hortorum pulchritudo nomen dedit Schoonhoviæ. ---- quod dico, patruus ipſius, Petrus Longolius, vir apprime doctus, mihi narravit.* Eraſ. Ep. L. 27. p. 1106.

actly

1

qualified

actly after the model of *Cicero*'s, ſervilely copying his words and phraſes; as if nothing was claſſical unleſs it was to be found in his writings. This cloſe imitation drew upon him, and others of the ſame turn, the cenſures of ſome of the beſt criticks of thoſe times, who laughed at them for their pains; [1] and yet this man *undertook to refute* Luther's *whole ſyſtem*: "a taſk for P. 20. / p 23.
"which he was not at all fit, having nothing in his head beſides *Ciceronianiſm* and "a little Philology." [2] An intenſe application to ſtudy ſeems to have ſhortened his days. Before he was taken ill, he made his will, and bequeathed his library to his friend and executor *Pole*, whom he acquainted with his illneſs, not by *dictating* but writing to him himſelf: and he immediately came to comfort his ſick friend,

1 *Eraſmus* in his *Ciceronianus*. *Scaliger* ſays of *Longolius*, *non ſuo ſenſu, ſed Ciceronis locutus eſt, dum non ſtylum Ciceronis, ſed ipſiſſimas Phraſes, adeoque ſententias tranſcribit.* Scaligeran. p. 247 cited in *Jortin*'s Life of *Eraſmus*, v.1. p.159. And *Eraſmus* in his letter to *Pole*, beſides the quotation in the margin, p. 20. *doleo Longolium*, &c. ſpeaking of his ſtyle, tells him, *in his quæ prodierunt apparet anxia Ciceronianæ dictionis affectatio, ſed interim frigentibus interdum ſententiis, ſubolet juvenilis quidam amor gloriæ.* Ep. L. 21. p. 790.

2 *Jortin*'s *Eraſmus*, v.1. p.165. And thus *Eraſmus*, in the letter to *a Goes*, cited here by Mr. *Philips*, ſays, *qui totus in hoc incubuit, ut Ciceronem exprimeret, nec infeliciter ceſſit conatus; at hic quanto ſeipſo frigidior eſt, in his, in quibus pugnat adverſus Lutheri dogmata?*

who

who expired a few days after, in the 33d year of his age. It will give us but a very indifferent idea of his good ſenſe, that he deſired to be buried in the habit of a Cordelier.[1] *Eraſmus*, in a letter to *Alciat*, hath given an humorous account of the vanity and ſtiffneſs of this pedantick *Ciceronian*; "who was ſo ſolemn, that though he ſtaid "with him three days, he never obſerved "him to ſmile, not even at meal-times, "tho' he would ſometimes aim at a joke "in his letters; — that according to this "ſect, every thing muſt be expreſſed as "*Cicero* would have done it. Oh! if he "could revive, how he would laugh at theſe

1 *Epiſtola a Longolio conſcripta extremum ſpiritum ducente*; and then follows the former part of the letter here quoted. *Quirini*, v. 1. p. 205. *Pole* himſelf in his life of *Longolius*, ſpeaking of his friend's illneſs, ſays, *eo tempore forte abeſſet Polus, cui antea res ſuas omnes crediderat, quem tamen per literas quo ſtatu eſſet certiorem fecit . . quo nuntio triſtiſſimo ille perculſus ſubito accurrit; . . . antequam vero diſcederet, in divi Franciſci Familiam voluit adoptari, ejuſque habitu poſt mortem & templo ſepeliri. Obiit* 33°. *ætatis anno.* 3°. *Id. Septembris A. D.* 1522. I have been thus minute and particular in this and a former note, to point out ſome of Mr. *Philips*'s inaccuracies. It was as eaſy for him to have followed his authorities cloſely, as to have been haſty and careleſs. A Biographer ſhould attend to dates, and his extracts ſhould be clear and full; ~~for that~~ *the diſagreement here with matter of fact is not material*; *but the reader is entitled to accuracy even in things which are not ſo.* *Pole*'s life, p. 24. Note.

Indeed

27.

diſciples

i but Mr P. chuses rather to follow Quirini's mistake (vol. 1. p 206) and make him 34 Years of age, when he died.

1

1 still

1 hath

"diſciples of his." [1] Such is the character that Scholars have given of him.

But while they at *Padua* were reforming their ſtyle and language, they were called off to more important concerns than that of joining words together. An *Auguſtinian* friar had ſtarted a controverſy, not of diction but of faith; and how well he maintained his cauſe is apparent. At the name of *Martin Luther* every ſon of *Rome* trembled; and happy was he who could aſperſe him moſt. Our Biographer hath put in his mite, and repeated the clamour; and hath drawn the outlines of his picture, but in ſuch diſtorted features, as to loſe all reſemblance. We diſclaim the character here given of that zealous Reformer, as being the reverſe of the original. But before we vindicate his good name, we will exorciſe thoſe evil ſpirits that he is ſuppoſed to be poſſeſſed with, and rid him *of his execrable*

P. 25. / 28

1 *Toto triduo quo mecum egit, nunquam vidi hominem vel leviter ſubridentem; ne in conviviis quidem . . & tamen in epiſtolis nonnunquam conatur eſſe feſtivus . . exorta eſt nova ſecta Ciceronianorum . . poſthac non licebit epiſcopos appellare patres reverendos, nec in calce literarum ſcribere annum a Chriſto nato, quod id nuſquam faciat Cicero. Quid autem ineptius quam . . non aliter audere loqui, quam locutus eſt Cicero? ſi reviviſceret ipſe Cicero, rideret hoc Ciceronianorum genus.*

Eraſ. Ep. *Alciato.* L. 21. p. 798.

See more of *Longolius* in the firſt volume of *Jortin*'s life of *Eraſmus. paſſim.*

inti-

intimacies Mr. *Philips* ſo poſitively aſſerts he maintained *with thoſe infernal inmates.* A charge of this nature ſhould be well proved, or not named at all; for the infamy of ſuch ſlanders will fall ſomewhere. Happily however for this ſtaunch catholick; he tells us, *Luther* himſelf, *loſt to every human ſentiment, acknowledged this diabolical inſtructor as his maſter.*

The firſt appeal by way of proving this formidable accuſation, is to a treatiſe of *Luther*'s, entitled *Concio de turbis Sedandis:* but as no ſuch treatiſe is mentioned either by *Seckendorf*, or *Hernſchmidius* (who publiſhed *Luther*'s life in 1742) who have each given a catalogue of his works according to the date of the years when they were wrote or publiſhed, I leave it to our writer to make the moſt he can of it. His next proof of this notable fact is, *part of a ſentence* taken from *Luther*'s *table-talk*; a book not publiſhed by himſelf, not allowed to be his by many of his followers, nor appearing till many years after his death, and its ſuppoſed compiler's; "yet allowing it to "be genuine, what fair and reſpectable adverſary would urge looſe table-talk againſt "a man in controverſy, and build ſerious inferences upon what perhaps was ſpoken "but in jeſt,"[1] perhaps miſtaken by the rela-

P. 25. / 28 note.

1 *Atterbury*'s anſwer to the conſiderations on the ſpirit of *Martin Luther*; p. 16. 1687. Qto.

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tor, or perhaps not ſpoken at all. But however, as we are pretty ſure that *Luther* never kept bad company, we will ſee what Mr. *Philips* can make againſt him from thence: tho' we muſt remind him, that as there is an Engliſh tranſlation of this *Table-talk*, it was not kindly done to refer us to a Latin edition of a book not eaſily to be procured, or if it could, to a paſſage not readily to be found, when only a few detached words make the whole proof of this accuſation.

It was indeed prudent for him, thus to fight in the dark; for having found out the place, we ſee nothing like it. For thus does *Luther* expreſs himſelf. Having before ſpoke of the oppoſition from within in mental ſuggeſtions, wherewith he was aſſaulted by the Devil, he adds to comfort himſelf. "What I "teach, write, preach, and intend, the ſame "I lead openly in the clear day-light, not "hidden in a corner; I direct, and ſquare "all the ſame by the goſpel, by baptiſm, "and the Lord's prayer. Chriſt ſtandeth "here, him I cannot deny, upon the goſpel "do I ground my cauſe, *&c.* Yet notwith-"ſtanding all this, the Devil bringeth it ſo "near unto me, with his crafty diſputing, "that the ſweat of anguiſh droppeth from "me, inſomuch as many times I feel and "underſtand, *that he ſleepeth nearer unto "me than my wife Kate doth*; THAT IS,

" he diſquieteth me more, than ſhe com-
" forteth, or pleaſeth me; even thus St.
" *Paul* comforted himſelf when he was re-
" viled for a rebel. Likewiſe the Devil ſtirred
" up the Jews againſt Chriſt, *therefore* do
" I ſay to the Devil, like as thou cameſt to
" confuſion by Chriſt and St. *Paul*, even
" ſo ſhall it go with thee, if thou meddleſt
" with me." [1] This is the whole connected paſſage, from whence this zealous honeſt writer, or ſome more zealous friend, picked out this ſounding, disjointed ſentence, to demonſtrate *Luther*'s intimacy with the Devil. If ſo, *Martin* ſhewed his affection for the fiend in a very odd manner; and the proof of it does not diſcover an intimacy of friendſhip, but a declaration of war, a challenge of defiance: and as he was overturning his kingdom, he made as free with his name, as he did with any of his votaries. And whatever *reſpect was due to his readers*, Mr. *Philips* was certainly wanting in that *due to himſelf*, when he ventured to refer to this place.

P. 25./28

Errata before the 2d pt.

But for this diſmembered quotation, authority is at laſt produced, ſuch as it is, but an authority plainly diſcovered after the falſhood had been detected: becauſe, in [redacted], and the following page of *Walſingham*'s ſearch, [2] where this honeſt quotation occurs, there

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1 *Luther*'s *Table-Talk*, Engl. ed. chap. 37. *Of tribulation and temptation*, p. 391.

2 Search into matters of religion. *Lond.* 1609. 2 to.

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† The Book referred to, &

‡ In this Book the Author relateth the Occasion and Circumstances of his changing his religious Sentiments. The Irish Jesuit Fitz-Simon in his Britannomachia Ministrorum. giveth also a long Story of this Conversion drawn from the Search itself v. Lib. 3. Cap. 2. p. 254 — 259.

+ written

(who wanted nothing but a Gilbert
to make him ~~a Saint~~ as good a Saint as his
Brother Garnet of reasonable Memory.

X any of

are ſome others of the ſame ſort added, which would by no means have been overlooked by one who was hunting for matter of defamation; ſuch as, *eating a buſhel of ſalt with the Devil, — that he was ſo about him that he could neither write nor read*, &c. &c. which have afforded much pleaſant paſtime to *Luther*'s able and candid opponents. Mr. *Walſingham*, the perſon upon whoſe authority our author relies for this weighty objection, was a deacon of our church; a well meaning but a weak man, who was unſettled by lighting upon a defence of father *Campian*, [illegible]te by his ~~brother~~ miſſionary holy father *Parſons*, in anſwer to a book publiſhed by two Puritan Divines. Mr. *W.* in order to ſolve the doubts which he could not anſwer himſelf, inſtead of conſidering the full and able rejoinder immediately made to that defence,[1] choſe to ſettle his mind by confiding in the *plauſible* repreſentations, which his new friends gave of their religion: and truſting to the books, they put into his hands, he ſeemeth not to have doubted of the truth of the citations he found in them. For

1 See a treatiſe againſt the defence of the cenſure given upon the books of *W. Charke*, and *Meredith Hanmer*, in maintenance of the ſeditious challenge of *Edmund Campian* lately condemned and executed for high treaſon. A cool, well-written ſenſible performance.

A 12°. book printed at *Cambridge*, no year mentioned.

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in the inſtance before us, it is ſcarcely credible that he, any more than Mr. *Philips*, gave himſelf the trouble of conſulting *Luther*'s works; but relied upon extracts given him by a friend. For ſurely no honeſt and good man, who could ſee with his own eyes, or valued his own reputation, would ſtop ſhort (as they both do) and content himſelf, *with a few words in the middle of a ſentence*, when the whole, if clearly ſtated, would make entirely againſt him. —— But what Faith is to be kept with Heretics?

Neither does our Author ſucceed better in his next reference, a quotation that he ought to be aſhamed to make; and to which no one, who would give himſelf time and thought to conſult the book wherein it occurs, could in honour or conſcience have given ſuch a turn. It is not in the Treatiſe here appealed to, *De abroganda miſſa privata*, but in that entitled, *De miſſa privata & unctione ſacerdotum*; and is plainly, like the former, a mental ſuggeſtion, a ſpiritual conflict upon reflecting, that for years together he had celebrated Maſs, whilſt he was a ſinner. He ſought to quiet his conſcience, and anſwer theſe temptations of the Devil, by ſaying, he was an anointed prieſt becauſe he ſaid Maſs in the Faith of the church. He confeſſes, that tho' in reſpect of his own faith and ſins, upon the principles he then held, he could not repel the Devil's ſophiſtry;

† Unless their Zeal had blinded & effectually
conbinced them that no

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try; yet when he considered the grace and power of Christ, all his terrors vanished. In the *German*, and in the *Jena* Latin translation, this imaginary bodily conference is said to be *in corde*.[1] The whole represents the uneasiness of his own mind, not thoroughly satisfied with the arguments he used against these internal assaults, when under the bondage of popery, and whilst he was ignorant of his own strength.[2] In this anxiety of mind, being convicted by the law of God, he owned himself a sinner; and turning unto Christ with *Peter*, looked upon his infinite merits, who hath condemned all horrible condemnation: and though without

1 *Cœpit Diabolus in corde meo disputationem, multas enim noctes satis acerbas & molestas mihi facere potest.* *Lutheri* op. ed. *Jenæ*, v. 2.

In the *Wittenburgh* edition the conference begins thus, *Si forsan agnoscatis, quam firmis nitatur columnis vestra causa, si in horam incidatis tentationum . . Contigit me semel sub mediam noctem subito expergefieri, ibi Satan mecum cœpit ejusmodi disputationem.*

De missa privata, & unct. sacerdot. *Lutheri* op. ed. *Witt.* v. 7. p. 228.

2 *In his angustiis, in hoc agone contra diabolum volebam retundere hostem Armis, quibus assuetus ~~fum~~ sub papatu, objiciebamque intentionem & fidem ecclesiæ . . . si ego inquam non recte credidi aut sensi, tamen in hoc recte credidit & sensit ecclesia. ~~v~~erum Satan e contra fortius & vehementius instans . . . ~~h~~ic respondebunt mihi sanctissimi patres, hic ridebunt & dicent, Tune es Doctor ille celebris, & non nosti respondere Diabolo? ---~~s~~i papista essem omnium tentationum rudis, quem securum & sertentem negligeret . . . etiam talis gygas essem, contra absentem hostem, alacer, & fortis.* Ibid. p. 229. 230.

Christ

Chriſt he was guilty, yet thro' faith in him, tho' a ſinner, he was holy and pure and clean; and had received Baptiſm, Abſolution, and the Sacraments, as ſeals of the Divine Grace.'

This is the ſubſtance of this imaginary diabolical conference, which modeſt and holy Mr. *Philips* tells us *cannot be read without horror*; but which we have related with pleaſure, profeſſing we ſee nothing in it but what is grave, ſerious, and pious; and, if impartially conſidered, muſt greatly raiſe the character of *Luther* either as a Divine or a Chriſtian. We were threatened *with the paſſage at length in the appendix:* but when our ingenuous author had procured an edition of *Luther*'s works, his heart miſgave him. To ſtate *the paſſage* fairly, he found, would not anſwer his purpoſe: his word was plighted to the Public. What was to be done? To inſert it, or wholly to

Append. pt. 2d. p. 241. / v 2. p 309

P. 25. / 28

1 *Opus eſt in tali agone divino & cæleſti auxilio --- confeſſus quidem ſum (lege Dei convictus) coram diabolo, me peccaſſe, me damnatum eſſe, ut Judam, ſed verto me ad Chriſtum cum Petro, & reſpicio ejus immenſum beneficium & meritum, &c. Ille omnem horrendam damnationem damnavit. Extra Chriſtum eſſem quidem reus mortis æternæ, ſed quia ſum in Chriſto, & in ipſo credo, ipſum invoco, tum jam mea damnatio eſt damnata . . & conſtanter poſſum dicere, etiam ſi ſim peccator, tamen ſum ſanctus & innocens in Chriſto, . . ipſe meum peccatum delevit per ſanguinem ſuum, de hoc non dubito, in hoc accepi baptiſmum, abſolutionem & ſacramenta, ut ſigilla certa divinæ gratiæ, &c.* Ibid. p. 230.

Seckendorf hath related the hiſtory of this diſpute, and fully expoſed the idle objection of a real or ſenſible appearance. L. 1. p. 166, *& ſeq.*

omit

omit it, would be acting with too much honour for rancour and bigotry: it would be giving up the point: it would be confeſſing the paſſage was falſly, was ignorantly, was impertinently alledged. His beſt way, ſince he was gone ſo far, he thought would be, to compromiſe the matter; to ſlur it over with a pious exclamation; groſly to inſult the memory of *Luther*; to take the Devil's part, and make him have the better of the diſpute. *Luther*'s works are not common: who knows but a confident appeal to them will paſs off unſuſpected? Is this the good faith of the conſcientious Mr. *Philips?* Did he think, that becauſe he publiſhed his book in a land of Hereſy, we were not entitled to honeſty and impartiality? how elſe will he excuſe his wilful miſrepreſentations? how elſe palliate his notorious falſhoods? But perhaps his zeal, or his *horror*, would not ſuffer him to go through the few pages this conference takes up. I hope therefore for truth's ſake, he did not read the whole paſſage; elſe, in his own language, we ſhall aſk him, *what ſpirit is he poſſeſſed with,* to ſay, *the Devil prevailed over* Luther, *and that* Luther *yielded the victory to him?* when *Luther* himſelf expreſſly aſſerts, that the Devil was a liar; that he miſſed his aim; that he could not drive him to deſpair; and that the thoughts of Chriſt's Merits

Append. pt. 2. p. 241. / v 2. p 909.

and

and Mercies removed all his ſcruples and anxiety of mind. Now let the Reader judge, whether or no *Luther* learnt of the Devil to aboliſh the Maſs, that pretended *capital article of the Catholick Religion*. After all, if Mr. *Phillips* inſtead of dipping into the book juſt at the conference, and ſtopping there, had read further in this treatiſe *de Miſſa privata*, &c. he would have learnt that the queſtion there, is not, about aboliſhing the Maſs; but only that the conflicts of an awakened conſcience for ſaying private Maſs, when he firſt found it to be ſinful, are ſtated under the fiction of a bodily conference with the Adverſary of mankind. Now if this *dialogue with the ſpirit of lies* had ended in *Luther*'s giving up the point, there would have been matter of real triumph: inſtead of that, he by no means yeilded to the perſuaſions of his diabolical Foe, by being driven to deſpair; but overcame the temptation and the aſſault, by appealing to the Mercy of God, and the Merits of Chriſt.

The enemies of *Luther* muſt be hard driven, when they are compelled to go ſo low for matter of invective; as to rail at him, for diſagreeing with the Devil. The truth is, that *Luther*, without the Devil's help or *inſtructions*, had aboliſhed the Maſs, as a *capital error*, ſome years before this treatiſe was publiſhed. To repreſent the feel-

feelings and anxiety of his mind, before he could ſatisfy himſelf in that point, he deſcribed them in the language of the convent; and exhibited, under this feigned conference, the ſtruggles of a tender conſcience before conviction. Thus *his intimacies with theſe infernal inmates* end not only in oppoſing, but in vanquiſhing them: which is but a ſtrange way of returning the kindneſs of their *inſtructions*. — But what muſt we think of thoſe, who, to blaſt a good man's reputation, ſhall quote a ſtrong figurative manner of expreſſion, as aſſerting a real matter of fact, and then argue gravely from this preſumption? is not this ſuch diſhoneſt chicanery, as merits the ſevereſt reprehenſion? — but let ſuch be left to the laſhes of their own conſcience. *And I ſhould be wanting to the reſpect I owe to the reader*, to detain him by formally refuting ſuch ſhameful objections and ſilly ſtories, that ~~they are fit~~ to be the "objects of a ſtronger and more reſigning "faith, than we proteſtants can pretend to."[1]

But did *Luther* alone keep ſuch bad company? Many of the *Romiſh* Saints had much greater familiarity with the *ſpirit of darkneſs and lies*. He played them many a ſad prank. — He ſerved poor *Benedict* a trick, tho' he had like to have ſuffered for it himſelf. He appeared to this Saint in ſhape of a blackbird, and came ſo near his

1 *Atterbury*, p. 46.

mouth

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confute them,
would be as silly
as to believe them.
They are fit only

mouth that he might have caught him, but whilſt he was croſſing his mouth, the bird was flown indeed, but left behind him ſo terrible a diſhoneſt carnal temptation, which plagued him ſo much, that he threw off his cloaths, and rolled himſelf amongſt thorns and briars, that the pain might drive away the temptation. — That meek and godly man St. *Dominick*, the father of that holy tribunal the Inquiſition, who is ſaid never to have committed one mortal ſin, and to whom the virgin *Mary* gave the Roſary, yet even he could not eſcape old Satan's malice. Once he diſturbed the Saint at ſtudy, by ſkipping about the leaves of his book in the ſhape of a flea. *Dominick* however ſeized him, kept him in that ſhape, and pinned him to the place where he left off, as a mark. — Another time the fiend was more ſaucy, and in the ſhape of a monkey, by grinning and other apiſh tricks diſturbed him more than ever: but here again he met with his match, for the Saint made him hold his candle ſo long, till his claws were burnt to the bone. — One day as they were ſtudying together, the Fiend produced a long liſt of the ſins of the *Dominican* fraternity, which upon the Saint's commands he quietly (knowing his power) gave up to him. [1] — Once he had a long

1 *Antoninus Chron.* p[t], 3. tit. 23. cap. 4. 6.

con-

conference with many Devils together, and forced them to confeſs the virtues of the Roſary, and that he was the Saint they moſt feared. — After that, the Devil and he were good friends, and he became his diſciple and ſervant; for he ſet up the Inquiſition, and butchered the poor *Albigenſes* by wholeſale. In the firſt act of faith at *Tholouſe*, he burnt at leaſt 300, ſome ſay 400 of them alive in one day for hereſy; which *Paramus*, a well-known inquiſitor, ſaid, was the moſt glorious that ever was ſeen. [1] — The flaming heart, the glorious St. *Thereſa*, as ſhe is ſtyled, had alſo many exteriour repreſentations of the Devil in various ſhapes and diſguiſes: and it was ſome time, before ſhe found out, how much he deteſted holy water, which made him fly away at once. [2] — That angelick virgin, the ſoul-ſeeing St. *Catherine* of *Sienna*, [3] and the famous Sta. *Clara*, [4] were both of them diſ-

1 See *Geddes*'s view of all the orders of monks and friars in the *Roman* church, p. 4. 28. 36, &c. where there are many ſuch pretty tales taken from the lives of theſe bleſſed Saints. Miſcellaneous tracts, v. 3.

2 St. *Thereſa*'s life, *Eng.* edit. 1642. c. 31. p. 445, &c. of certain exteriour temptations and repreſentations of the Devil, &c.

3 St. *Catherine* of *Sienna*'s life. *Eng.* edit. 1609. pt. 1. c. 20. p. 87. Of the ſtrange battailes which ſhe had againſt the Devil, &c.

4 Vita Stæ. *Claræ*. *Antwerp.* 1650. c. 7. p. 45. *De exercitatione ejus in Oratione, a qua Dæmon eam abſtrahere conatur.* and in English, in the Chronicle of the Frier Minors. B VIII. p 661.

turbed

turbed by conferences with this angel of darkneſs; the latter of whom he aſſaulted with ſtripes. — But he made the moſt impreſſion of all, in early days, upon St. *Martin* of *Tours*, with whom he had ſo many conferences, that the St. began to conceive hope of his friend's Salvation. [1]

But theſe are only ſlight ſpecimens of the portentous fictions, with which the lives of the *Romiſh* Saints are replete. They are mentioned here with no other view, but to ſhew the conſiſtency of Mr. *Philips*, who can relate a ſtory to the diſgrace, as he conceives, of *Luther*, whilſt multitudes of the like kind, but infinitely more abſurd, are recorded to the glory of the heroes of his own communion; all which, monſtrous as they are, his religion compels him to believe. But it is probable, ſo enlightened a perſon hath ſome favourable palliations to allege in behalf of theſe reveries: let him grant the ſame indulgence to theſe ſtories of *Luther*, and then he will be at liberty to make the worſt uſe of it he is able. I cannot but congratulate the world, on Mr. *Alban Butler*'s pious and edifying performance, who in condeſcenſion to the depraved, vitiated taſte of the times, ſo much devoted to novels and romances, the figments of the imagination, has publiſhed

1 See his life by *Sulpitius Severus*, ſect. 24.

ſuch

y Blows, "did beat her outrageously, & did so
"hurt her in the face, that her eye was all
"bloodshot, & the signe remained on her cheeke."; Nay the
Fiend sometimes graciously offerred his Assistance
to the Saints themselves. When that celebrated
Personage Ignatius Loyala, in the Commencement
of his spiritual Knight-errantry, put himself under
Jeron Ardebal at Barcelona, to learn a little Latin
at ye age of 33; Maffeius himself assures us, that ye Devil,
whilst ye poor young Scholar was employed in declining
ye Conjugations, drew off his attention from ye carnal Letter
of ye Words, to ye inward spiritual Signification of them:
"Quam ipsam rem, quasi futura præsagiens, pro sua
"parte adjuvabat etiam vafer humani generis Inimicus,
"eo maxime tempore crebra Intelligentiæ lumina
"eidem offerens & reconditæ patefaciens Scripturæ
"sacræ Mysteria".[2] Let us now hear no more of
Luther's Intimacy with any Diabolical Instructors.

+. V 2d p 173. V 2, p 233. 8vo Ed. +2 Maffei Vit.
Ignatii Lib: 1. Cap. 16.

2 Since the above was written, I have had the opportunity of seeing & perusing some part of this boasted Performance, Mr alban Butler's Lives of the Saints. A work it is, undoubtedly, of great Learning and Erudition, written with uncommon art and dexterity: wherein he conceals, dissembles, excuses and denies with such caution & timidity, that the truth could not but suffer considerably under his pen; & the author himself must, surely, have done great violence to his own good Sense and Understanding in the Compilation of such a work. He has, indeed, rejected the Miraculorum Monstra, which so peculiarly characterized the fanatical Devotees of his Church; for which they were originally sainted, and for the belief of which the Faith of ancient Catholics was deemed so illustrious. The Narration of ~~these~~ these could alone recommend them to an Heretical Reader for his diversion and entertainment. But tho' Mr Butler has prudently discarded some of the more glaring absurdities, which yet, in their times, were the

ſuch amuſing fables, as *the lives of the Saints muſt* be, if abounding with thoſe ridiculous and palpable abſurdities, which mark throughout the legendary lives of thoſe curious and imaginary Saints, the fathers of the deſert, and thoſe fanatical devotees whom *Surius*, *Ribadeneira*, &c. have ſo gravely obtruded into the world. Preface p. xi.

† Having failed ſo much in his evidence for *Luther*'s diabolical connections, let us ſee whether he is more fortunate in the character he draws of that reformer and his writings; and it will appear that he is equally a ſtranger to both; receiving his impreſſions of them, not by a perſonal inſpection into his works, of which I am perſuaded he never read a line, but from the exaggerated miſrepreſentations of declared adverſaries. The firſt and more immediate occaſion of *Luther*'s defect from the See of *Rome* is well known. He was a man of uncommon virtue and reſolution. The corruption, the ignorance, the wickedneſs of thoſe times, loudly complained of by every ſerious writer; the neceſſity and want of a reformation, acknowledged by our author in many places of this book, [1] and indeed by all the candid writers of his own church, and not openly denied by any of the ſycophants of the popes. The moral

[1] P. 139. 141, 151, 209, &c.

part

part of *Luther*'s character hath never been impeached: his abilities ſpeak for themſelves. There is indeed, but then it was the general fault of the age, juſt emerging out of ignorance and barbariſm, an aſperity and roughneſs in his writings, far different from that delicacy which an improvement in politeneſs has ſince made the teſt of civility and good manners. What would offend us now, carried with it then, no idea of rudeneſs or indelicacy, but was the common language and expreſſion of the ſchools. This, and the nature of his undertaking, which required all the firmneſs he could poſſibly collect, and all the native plainneſs of his country, is the only apology expedient to vindicate him from the petulant cenſures of this biographer.

The cotemporary writers ſpeak highly of *Luther*'s morals, and abilities. Like another *Athanaſius*, he for ſome time ſingly bore the ſtorms of the whole world: and thoſe who were the moſt galled by him did by no means look upon him, tho' alone, as an inſignificant opponent. They ſoon found his heroical ſpirit too much ſuperior to them. Many of thoſe who widely differed from him, yet ſpoke reſpectfully of him. *Eraſmus*'s favourable and candid opinion of him is well known: and to deprive us of the weight of his teſtimony, he himſelf is accuſed of being a ſuſpected friend, and

wiſhing

glory and signature of his Saints, he has, nevertheless still retained, tho disguised by artificial refinements, so many of the gross Fictions, & legendary Fables, as is a full and lamentable proof, of ye power, influence, and malignity of inveterate prejudices even over better informed minds.

x resolute to yield, or to give up the defence of what he firmly believed to be the truth.

To

† To this candid testimony in favour of Luther, I will subjoin another memorable concession of the same Prelate, in behalf of his Followers. "Roffensis Britannus antistes, Vir in Theologicis studiis doctissimus, ... mihi, dum Londinum aliquando ex Gallia proficiscerer, se invisenti confessus est, se magnopere admirari, quid sibi vellet ea in re Divina Providentia, quod Lutherani aliquot longe felicissime enarrarent Sacras Literas, et tamen essent Hæretici."

Florentius Volusenus de animi tranquillitate. p 250. ye Edingburgh Edit of 1751.

wiſhing well to his deſigns. But *he* does not ſpeak more advantageouſly of him than Pope *Leo* the tenth himſelf did, when he ſaid, "brother *Martin* is a fine genius, and "his enemies are little envious monks;"[1] or than biſhop *Fiſher* of *Rocheſter*, who, in two of his letters to *Eraſmus*, mentions him in terms of the utmoſt regard; acknowledging his extraordinary abilities, and his maſterly knowledge of the SS; ~~and~~ only wiſhing he had ſpared the Pope and his court.[2] But *Luther* was not of a temper to do things by halves. He had a ready apprehenſion, a ſolid judgment, and an invincible fortitude: what he wrote, came from the heart; was the effect of conviction, of meditation, and prayer.

His firſt attempt, againſt the exorbitant ſale of indulgences, carried with it all the diffidence of modeſt Worth: he ſeemed fearful of attacking received and revered

1 *Jortin's* life of *Eraſmus*. V. 1. p. ~~124. Note.~~ 125

2 *Lutherus de quo ſcripſeras, mirabili ingenii acumine præditus eſt, & SS. præſto habet ad manum. Legi enim ea quæ ſcripſit maxima cum aviditate. Vellem libentiſſime illum poſſem convenire abſque gravi incommodo meo, ut poſſem cum eo diſcutere nonnulla, quæ me movent, &c.* And in another letter he ſays, *Audio Lutheri commentarios in Pſalterium, & in Epiſtolam ad Epheſios propediem emittendos. Placet mihi hominis ingenium, & mirifica in SS. eruditio, vellem profecto ſe temperaſſet de ſummo Pontifice loqui, & de iis quæ ad Romanam curiam ſpectant.*

Cited by *John Fox* in his continuation of *Haddon's* anſwer to *Oſorius*, p. 279.

doctrines;

doctrines; yet conſcious at the ſame time of his abilities to ſupport and confirm his notions and aſſertions, which he propoſed in a ſcholaſtick and academick method. When no redreſs was made of this ſhameful proſtitution of religion, this offence to decency and common ſenſe, ſo loudly complained of; but the factors ſtill went on with their deluſive cheats, and the diſputant was not attempted to be anſwered by argument but overpowered by numbers: he then examined the matter more dogmatically as a divine; and ſoon found the venerable name of antiquity impudently given to doctrines, but lately received into the church.

In the courſe of his ſtudies, he gained further degrees of knowledge and experience, which he communicated to the world; and, as he knew not what it was to fear, he gradually attacked, by the force of the ſame powerful conviction, other corruptions of the church. When his writings were publiſhed, they were examined and debated amongſt the learned, with the ſame preciſion and accuracy, as before by himſelf in his cloſet; and, as of old, ſome believed and were perſuaded, and ſome were not. But however it could not but give him perfect joy and ſatisfaction, to find his writings ſo eagerly enquired after, and ſo well approved of, that many of the greateſt diſcernment

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1

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/ and thoroughly exasperated him,

/ ÷ "Sunt ~~Quag~~ qui affirment, Lutherum a Spiritu immundo sub Incubi specie prognatum esse. Cujus Rei afferunt Testem, religiosam quandam Anum, Lipsiæ habitantem, quæ Matrem Lutheri, olim Plebii in publico Balneo famulantem, noverit, ac de Adolescente, quem Incubum fuisse putat,

cernment and understanding avowedly supported his person and cause. This alarmed those at *Rome:* and what was to be done? *Cajetan* had found, that he had neither a sordid nor a timorous soul. He was then to be run down and baited with a world of furies. The Pope and the Emperor proscribed him: they burnt his books; and would have confuted his person the same way, if they could have caught him. They even submitted to expose him by the meanest buffooneries: they represented him as the offspring or incubus of the Devil; nay that he was not a man, but a Devil in a monk's cowl. They encouraged their tools in their most illiberal railings against him; and, instead of hearkening to any of his just remonstrances, or vouchsafing to correct any of their most flagrant corruptions, they shewed their inflexible determination to continue them with all their pristine enormities, and to check this insolent aggressor by the severest denunciations.

Then, and not till then, *Luther*'s spirit and fire ~~was~~ moved; and when the perverseness, the stupidity, the effrontery of his opponents had transported ~~him, and made him somewhat furious~~, reasonable judges will esteem it not unpardonable, if he likewise, as well as they, offended in his words: but had he shrunk under the opposition, or been terrified at their

 threats,

threats, there had been an end of him and his doctrines. A man of his warmth and impetuosity was absolutely necessary for the arduous work which God had appointed him to do, who operates by ~~second~~ agents and ~~natural~~ causes: and the good man himself who was as sensible of this his natural infirmity as others were to reproach him with it, is frequently making apologies for it, and laying it upon the great provocations he received. His enemies did all they could to irritate and provoke him; and then basely cried out against his temper, when they felt the effects of his indignation. When he offered at first to be quiet, if they would be so too, they looked upon it as proceeding from fear; after that, he would not listen to any overtures of peace.' In his memorable defence before the Emperor at *Worms*, he owned this to be his natural failing; saying that "he did not pre-"tend to be a Saint, or dispute about the "goodness of his own life, but the doc-"trine of Christ."[2] And in another place,

1 *Certus sum dogmata mea habere me de cœlo . . . . Ipsi me provocaverunt ad bellum, bellum igitur habebunt, pacem oblatam contempserunt, pacem igitur non habebunt. . . . . Christus, mihi spiritum suppeditabat insignem contemptorem, tam fraudis quam furoris Papistici, fecitque ut quo magis SS. purgarem, eo certius abominationem implicitam invenirem.*

Contra Regem *Angliæ*, v. 2. *Witt.* ed. p. 331. 332

2 *Tertium genus eorum est, (sc. librorum)* ~~qui scripti sunt~~

audiverit, a quo Illa impraegnata fuerit, antequam cognita esset a viro suo, Ioanne Luthero.;

John Cochlæus in his Preface to his Book entituled. Historia de actis & scriptis Lutheri. See also Pratcolus de Hæresibus Lib: 10. sub

$\S^1$ natural Lit. L. N.° 15. p. 276.

$\S^2$ second

$\S^3$ ready

* quos in aliquos privatos, & singulares (ut vocant) Personas scripsi, eos scilicet, qui Tyrannidem Romanam tueri, & pietatem a me dictam Labefactare moliti sunt.

† To this purpose is his apology to the Pope, "Communiter quidem in impias Doctrinas invectus sum acriter & adversarios, non ob malos mores, sed ob impietatem, non segniter momordi. ... Regnet mihi cum ullo Homine de moribus, sed de solo verbo Veritatis esse Contentionem."

Epist: Lutheri ad Leonem X PP. præfixa Libello de Libertate Christiana. v 2. Witt: Ed. p 3.

vindicating himſelf to the ſame purpoſe, he adds, "that they were welcome to attack "his life; but this he could ſay, he was "above ſuch low work; all that he in-"veighed againſt were doctrines and te-"nets, contrary to the word of God."[1]

And tho' we do not juſtify ſome exceſſes of this infirmity, which came from him unawares, and when he had been roughly handled, or thought the ſacred cauſe of truth and religion injured; yet we muſt ſay, was there not a cauſe? His enemies kept no terms with him: where they could, they impriſoned, they ruined, they burnt his friends: the leaſt appearance of timidity in him would have been conſtrued the deſerting his cauſe. He was obliged to act

~~*ſunt adverſus privatos quoſdam, qui tyrannidem pariter, & dogmata Papæ tueri volant, & mihi calumnioſe multa impingerunt, in*~~ *hos confiteor me fuiſſe acerbiorem, quam pro religione aut profeſſione deceat,* ~~*neque*~~ *enim me ſanctum aliquem facio, neque de vita mea, ſed de doctrina Chriſti diſputo.* Ibid. p. 165 ~~*y Heerbrandius vit. Luth. p. 99.*~~

1 *Longe me abeſſe a modeſtia Evangelica dicit Latomus, quam doceo . . .* ~~*ut*~~ *nunquam exegi, ut me quis modeſtum aut ſanctum haberet, ſed ut Evangelium omnes agnoſcerent, data licentia in meam vitam graſſandi cujuſvis libidini. Hoc tamen gloriatur conſcientia mea, nullius vitam, aut famam eſſe a me læſam, ſolum dogmata, ſtudia, & ingenia in verbum Dei impia & ſacrilega* ~~*acerbe*~~ *inſectatus ſum. . . . . Hoc poſſum teſtari, cortex meus eſſe poteſt durior, ſed nucleus meus mollis & dulcis eſt, nemini enim male volo, ſed omnibus opto mecum quam optime conſultum,* ~~*ferro*~~ *duritia mea, ut nemini noceat, ita neminem fallit.*

Contra *Latomum*, v. 2. *Witt.* ed. p. ~~213~~ 214.

valiantly. God had given him the heart of a lion. His magnanimity was visible upon all occasions where resolution was required; and the conflicts which preceded shewed it to be the effect, not of arrogance, but conviction: and with such firmness did he persevere, that he frequently declared, the Pope should sooner come over to him, than he return to his communion; and, that he had rather fall with Christ, than reign with *Cesar*.

War being now declared; and as the controversy was to be decided by the pen, here was employment enough for the learned of both sides. Their ambition was raised by different motives. Abbies, bishoprics and the cardinalate, give an edge to the defenders of the papal power: whilst nothing was left for the others, but to fight against the stream; and the poor pittance of a *German* professorship, with the empty praise of deep erudition, was the utmost temporal reward they could expect. But, before we proceed farther, it will not be improper to enquire a little into the government of the ecclesiastical state, and the publick reasons alledged by the reformers for the secession they made. Our author is fond upon all occasions of attacking the morals, not so much indeed of the reformers themselves (that *we defy him to do*) but of that promiscuous multitude, which was supposed

Vide Thus does this magnanimous Hero open his Mind to his great Friend & Confidant Spalatin, in a letter addressed to Him, & dated July 10. 1520. — a me quidem, jacta mihi alea, contemptus est Romanus furor & favor: nolo eis reconciliari nec communicare in perpetuum: damnent execrandâ mea. Ego vicissim, nisi Ignem habere nequeam, damnabo publicè concremabo Jus Pontificium totum, id est Lernam illam Haeresium: & finem habebit humilitatis exhibitae hactenus frustratae observantiae; qua nolo amplius inflari Hostes Evangelii. cited in Seckendorf Hist. Luth. L.I. ~~Sect 2~~ P 111.

confessed and lamented

though

ſuppoſed to embrace the tenets of ſome or other of them. This however is no argument at all; *erunt vitia, donec erunt homines:* and good men of every age and communion have ever ~~lamented and confeſſed~~ the wickedneſs of the times. ~~And~~ ſurely none but bigots would paſs over the grievous actual faults of the members of their own church, to ſpy out all the vices that diſgrace religion and humanity in thoſe who differ from them: for every ſtate, and every church, muſt, from the perverſeneſs and the obſtinacy of mankind, feel its own evils; and it is eaſy to retaliate ſuch objections with intereſt. If the ſpring and head of the fountain be polluted, the ſtreams will be ſo too. The numerous ſchiſms in the papacy, the diſſolute lives of the profeſſed, the zeal of the church-men to aggrandize their own wealth and power, and the flagrant enormities of the Popes themſelves (many of whom *Bellarmine*, their own doughty champion, confeſſes to have gone in a long train to the Devil) had raiſed the indignation of ſerious and good perſons.[1] But the degeneracy and corruption of the church of *Rome* was never more viſible than in the times we are now concerned with: as will be evident from a view of the exploits and characters of thoſe ſovereign pontiffs who

1 Such as *Savanarola*, *Wickliff*, *Gerſon*, *Petrarch*, &c.

preſided

preſided in the See of *Rome*, from the beginning of the 16th century (to go no farther back) to the end of the council of *Trent*.

The firſt of theſe holy fathers, was that deteſtable monſter *Alexander* the 6th; [1] a man of the moſt debauched and profligate character; whoſe government was one continued ſeries of moſt horrid crimes to aggrandize his baſtards, whom, after the example of his predeceſſor, he publickly owned. "That for luſt, treachery, cruelty, rapine, and every deteſtable vice, he was not to be equalled," is the encomium generally given of this Pope; who, when he had bleſſed the church with his rule for about eleven years, met with the reward of his crimes, drinking, thro' the miſtake of a ſervant, that poiſon, which he and his infamous ſon *Cæſar Borgia* had prepared for

1 *Alexander* 6. *omnium qui unquam fuerunt, perfidia, libidine, ſævitia ſceleratiſſimus.*
Perizonii hiſt. 16. ſec. p. ---- 7
Cui non ſinceritas, non verecundia, non veritas, non fides, non religio ulla aderat. Guiccardini, L. 1. ----
Draco qui univerſum orbem veneno interfecerit, immoderata ambitione, horrenda crudelitate, & inuſitatæ avaritiæ exemplo, nam res ſacras pariter ac profanas ſine diſcrimine vendidit. ibid. L. 6. ----
Thuanus, L. 1. ------ *Onuphrii*, vit. *Alex.* 6. ------ *Dupin* 16 century, p. 14. *Walchs*'s hiſtory of the Popes, p. 242.
And yet this man had abilities, and ſo has every proſperous villain!

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the benefit of ſome rich cardinals, whoſe wealth he wanted to inherit.

To him ſucceeded *Pius* the third, who reigning but for a few days, nothing remarkable is recorded of his pontificate. His place was immediately filled by the turbulent *Julius* the 2d; who, having more of a martial ſpirit than became a Pope,[1] filled his reign with a ſucceſſion of troubles. He quarrelled with the *Venetians* and with *France*; and carried his reſentments to ſuch a length, as to excommunicate *Lewis* the 12th king of *France*, and thoſe cardinals and biſhops, who, ſince his holineſs, in violation of his oath taken at his election, would not, did of themſelves ſummon a council at *Piſa*, and afterwards at *Milan*; where they formally ſuſpended him from the adminiſtration of the papacy, as contumacious, as the author of ſchiſm, incorrigible, and hardened.[2] Having governed the church with exceſſive rigour, he died amidſt his projects for ruining *France*; and left this eulogium behind him, that he was a ſanguinary prelate, who ſacrificed many thouſands to his reſtleſs martial ſpirit, and by his other enormities rendered his name odious to poſterity.[3]

1 *Bellica gloria pluſquam Pontificem deceret clarus. Onuphrii.* vit. *Jul.* 2.

2 *Dupin* Eccleſ. hiſt. 16 cent. pt. 1. p. 19.

3 *Julius* 2, *ſacrorum nundinatione & nefandis moribus infamis*

To him ſucceeded *Leo* the tenth; whoſe only praiſe was this; that he was of a noble family, a man of learning, and a favourer of learned men: but his immoralities and his profaneneſs ſullied his fame. He indulged himſelf in all the diſſolute pleaſures of life.[1] The luxuries of his court were his ſupreme paſſion: religion was out of the queſtion; he being not only ignorant of it, but ſitting looſe to it: and yet this Pope, juſtly ſuſpected for an infidel, could tamely hear himſelf complimented, in the *Lateran* council, with having divine power given unto him over every thing in heaven and earth.[2]

P. 8./9 And if, as Mr. *Philips* ſays, *he ſaw the happy days of learning in all their brightneſs*, he alſo felt the heat of them very ſtrong, when

P. 8, 9, 10, 11./9. 10. 11. 12. this attention to literature, this *ardour for improvement, the cultivation of the ſciences*

infamis, bella ex bellis ferebat. Perizonius. p. 40.

Sleidan, b. 2. p. 26. *Onuphrii.* vit. *Jul.* 2. *Walch*'s hiſtory of the Popes, p. 245. and his picture drawn at full length in the dialogue entitled *Julius* 2. *excluſus* inſerted in *Jortin*'s *Eraſmus*, v. 2. p. 600.

1 *Id unum ei datum, quod voluptatibus, venationibus, aucupiis effuſe deditus, luxui & ſplendidiſſimis conviviis muſicæque magis quam tantum pontificem deceret, totus impenderet, pecuniæ quærendæ cauſa; pretio cardinales aliquot legit & officia quædam venalia excogitavit.*

Onuphrii vit. *Leonis* X.

2 *Antoninus Puccius, apoſtolicæ Cameræ clericus, in ſynodi Lateranenſis Seſſione* 9ª. *Leoni tribuit divinam majeſtatem, eidemque uni omnem in cælo & in terra tributam a Domino poteſtatem.*

Cited in *Kortholt*'s hiſt. eccleſ. p. 686.

and

and Belles Lettres, and the art of printing, all contributed to the progreſs of the reformation; whoſe influence ſoon ſpread, to the aſtoniſhment and confuſion of the Pope and his counſellors. Their infatuated proceedings ſerved only to ſpread the doctrines they would condemn. He, like his predeceſſors, was involved in wars; and having deſerted his old ally the king of *France*, the joy upon his defeat threw him into a ſlow fever, of which he died ſoon after, not without ſuſpicion of poiſon.[1]

Upon his deceaſe ſucceeded *Adrian* the 6th, a man of a very different turn to his luxurious predeceſſor. Not enjoying the infallible chair long, he was very zealous in acknowledging the neceſſity of a reformation, but then it was only in morals or diſcipline, not in faith or doctrine; and contented himſelf with ſending out bulls and writing letters againſt *Luther* and his followers, but without giving way to any vehement or perſecuting exceſſes. His endeavouring to reform ſome abuſes in his own court, and not being ſo profuſe as his predeceſſor to the wits at *Rome, whoſe expectations he did not anſwer*, ſo far provoked them, that not content with throwing out paſquils againſt him in his life-time, they contri- P. 26./30.

1 *Onuph.* vit. *Leon. Walch.* p. 247. *Jortin's* life of *Eraſmus*, v. 1. p. 285. and *Perizonius* quoted by him, p. 286. *Sleidan*, B. 3. p. 50.

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buted to the unfavorable judgment paſſed upon him ſince his death; tho' the more candid of his own communion have treated his memory reſpectfully.[1] Except offending the poets, who took ample revenge of him, his pontificate was memorable for little more, than an ineffectual ſtruggle to reform itſelf, and the canonization of *Benno* biſhop of *Miſnia;* a full account of which important occurrence is given by *Seckendorf.*[2]

P. 27./30 *Adrian* dying in about a year, *the cloud,* ſays Mr. *Philips, which had intercepted the rays of ſcience* ſoon broke off, *a ſecond Medicean pontiff ſucceeded.* An unfortunate expreſſion! ſeeing that by many he was deemed a baſtard of *Leo* the tenth's: a ſpurious offspring being at that time no uncommon ſight at the caſtle of St. *Angelo. Clement* the 7th had by no means the abilities, or the ſteadineſs, proper for his exaltation, in the midſt of thoſe political alarms, and religious broils, which kept continually increaſing. He was eminent for nothing, but a timid, fickle, irreſolute, wavering conduct, and groſs violation of treaties; he was alſo a dupe to his fears; a friend and foe by turns to the Emperor, the kings of *France* and *England.* His threatening to excom-

1 *Dupin,* Eccleſ. hiſt. 16 cent. v. 1. p. 73. *Onuph.* & *Walch.*

2 *Seckendorf* hiſt. *Luth.* pt. 1. p. 285. & *Jortin's Eraſmus,* v. 1. p. 325.

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transaction

for so many ages

were

municate the laſt proved the fatal blow to the papal power in *England*.

In his room was ſubſtituted *Paul* the 3d; one of the ſame ſtamp with his predeceſſors, and wholly bent upon raiſing the fortunes of his baſtards and family: but the virtues of him and of his ſucceſſor *Julius* the 3d, will be celebrated in the progreſs of this work. In *Julius*'s place, was choſen *Marcellus* the 2d; whoſe quick migration made room for his high and haughty Holineſs *Paul* the 4th, whoſe love of pomp and power was boundleſs. He fancied himſelf above princes, whom he imagined he could depoſe, and whoſe kingdoms he could give away at pleaſure. He involved *Italy* in a war; and publiſhed the firſt Index of prohibited books, that the good catholicks might receive their learning, as well as their faith, at his command. His attachment to the inquiſition is not to be wondered at: fire and faggot he knew, when reaſon failed, ~~was a~~ prevailing arguments: he uſed to call it the principal ſecret and myſtery of papacy, the true Ram to beat down hereſy, and defend the apoſtolick See; and he had ſo much at heart the intereſt of this holy office, that he recommended it to the college of cardinals in his dying moments. When he was dead, or rather whilſt he was expiring, the people of *Rome*, exaſperated by his oppreſſions, vented their hatred in every kind of

of inſult. But our author himſelf has favoured us with a very full account of this Pope and his character in a long note, tranſlated entirely from *Gratiani*; [1] and this impartiality we owe, in a great meaſure, to his ſquabbles with *Pole:* therefore his biographer has not ſpared his memory, any more than the people of *Rome* did his ſtatue. [2]

V. 2. p. 197 --- 204. 259 — 264

After him came *Pius* the 4th; a man of learning indeed, but gluttonous, intemperate, diſſembling; devoted to his pleaſures; and as much intent upon raiſing his family, as any of his pious predeceſſors. He carried his reſentment againſt the *Caraffa* family for oppoſing him in the conclave (tho' he owed them many and great obligations) to ſuch lengths of malice, violence and oppreſſion, [3] as to ruin them all. In his reign

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1 *Gratiani de caſibus illuſtrium virorum*, p. 313—342.

2 *Thuanus*, B. 23. A. D. 1559. *Sleidan*'s continuation, p. 36. *Onuph. Walch*, p. 258. Father *Paul*, B. 5. p. 416. *Dupin*, 16 century, 2 v. p. 153.

3 *Novus pontifex tantum privatis commodis & caritatibus indulgebat, — & fraternæ vanitatis æmulatione nomen & inſignia Mediceæ gentis uſurpaverat . . . . Cum vero apud ſe ſtatuiſſet jure vel injuria, fraude ſive apertâ vi deſideria privata explere, & ex Caraſarum exitio, quos alioqui ſuæ fortunæ propitios in adipiſcenda ſumma dignitate nuper expertus fuerat, magna commoda ſperaret, ita aſtum inſtruxit eaque diſſimulatione uſus, ut ſe iis bene velle initio fingeret, &c.*

Thuanus, L. 26. A. D. 1560. See, to the ſame purpoſe, *Onuph.* vit. *Pii*, 4ti.

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the council of *Trent* was ended: and we ſhall hereafter have frequent occaſion to mention his exploits.

Theſe great, and holy and exemplary perſons, who obtained the papal dignity with ſuch honor to themſelves, and whoſe reigns were ſo beneficial to the intereſts of Chriſtianity, were, in the language of our Author, *the Vice-gerents of that Being, who over-rules all events, and beneath whom thoſe are bowed who uphold the world.* — P. 191./217.
Theſe were they, by whom for 60 years and upwards, *the majeſty of the church, and of the firſt biſhop of the Chriſtian world,* P. 2. were diſplayed in the ſight of all men, to the offence, to the ſcandal, to the diſgrace of Religion and Chriſtianity. If *Luther*, who was an angel of light compared with theſe, had *his execrable intimacy with infernal inmates*; what muſt we think of theſe wretches? They ſeem to have had very familiar communication with *this ſpirit of darkneſs and lies:* they were his ſervants; they did his work; and they were rewarded by their maſter with the kingdoms of this world. If *Chriſt's Vicars*, as they are preſumptuouſly ſtyled, were guilty of ſuch foul enormities, the ſubordinate members and inferior officers of that court could not be all Saints. Many of the cardinals and biſhops were either the baſtards of Popes, or children of thoſe who were ſo. And could either

ther piety of morals, or purity of faith, be regarded by thoſe, who openly neglected both? So avowed was this contempt of religion, that *Adrian* himſelf frankly confeſsed it, and yet never took one ſtep effectually to promote a reformation; but contented himſelf with inveighing againſt and threatening thoſe, who only laughed at and deſpiſed him for it, *Luther*, and his patron the Elector *Frederick* of *Saxony*.[1] *Eraſmus*, though writing to *Barbirius* the Pope's Secretary, could not deny the truth and juſtice of *Luther*'s ſevere repreſentation of the profligacy and diſſoluteneſs of the *Roman* court.[2] He, and *Luther*, were both witneſſes of the horrid profaneneſs committed and connived at there.[3] Nay

1 *Scimus in hac ſancta ſede aliquot jam annis multa abominanda fuiſſe; abuſus in ſpiritualibus, exceſſus in mandatis, & omnia denique in perverſum mutata; unde mirum ſi ægritudo a capite in membra, a ſummis pontificibus in alios inferiores prælatos deſcenderit.* *Adrian* 6th's Inſtructions to the Nuncio at the Diet at *Norimberg* 1523. cited by *Seckendorf*, L. 1. p. 254. ſee alſo p. 258.

2 *Quæ Lutherus ſcripſit de tyrannide, avaritia, turpitudine Romanæ Curiæ, utinam mi Barbiri eſſent falſa*, L. 21. p. 766.

3 *Ego Romæ his auribus audivi quoſdam abominandis blaſphemiis debacchantes in Chriſtum, & in illius apoſtolos, idque multis mecum audientibus, & quidem impune. Ibidem multos novi, qui commemorabant ſe dicta horrenda audiſſe a quibuſdam ſacerdotibus, aulæ pontificiæ miniſtris, idque inſmiſſa tam clarè, ut ea vox ad multorum aures pervenerit.* *Eraſ.* Ep. *Auguſt. Steucho*, L. 26. p. 1038. *Jortin's Eraſmus*, p. 506.

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Mr. *Philips* himſelf, the moſt unexceptionable witneſs that can be deſired in this caſe, is forced to confeſs, *that to the diſadvantages, under which Chriſtianity then laboured, the 15th century had likewiſe the misfortune to ſee moſt of the Popes during that period altogether unworthy the ſupreme place they held; and their Court, inſtead of giving that example, which the world had a right to expect from it, was infected with vices, which, like a torrent, ſpread themſelves over all nations.* [1]

The ſame obſervation was made by *Luther* when at *Rome* in 1510. who ſays, that the prieſts there could diſpatch ſeven Maſſes before he could finiſh one: and moreover, *illi non tantum præpoſtera feſtinatione properabant, ſed hæc etiam impia verba ſubjungebant*, Paſſa, Paſſa, remitte mox beatæ Virgini Filium ſuum; *item nonnullos panem & vinum hiſce verbis conſecrare ſolere*, panis es, panis manebis; vinum es, vinum manebis.

Hernſchmidii vit. *Luth.* p. 24. *Adamus* vit. *Theolog. Germ.* p. 104. *Jortin.* p. 504.

To the ſame purpoſe was *Caſtellanus*'s complaint of the ſame enormous licentiouſneſs —— *Cum pontificum Romanorum ſupinas libidines, avaritiam, & rapacitatem, religionis contemptum, ſuperbiamque Cardinalium, luxum & ignaviam, nundinationeſque, cauponationes, & flagitia reliqua aulicorum Romanenſium deſcriberet, & cetera quæ tunc vidiſſet commemoraret . . . frequenter diceret ſibi eſſe perſuaſiſſimum, ne pontifices quidem Romanos, religionis & ſacrorum Antiſtites, tot ſuis, ſuorumque flagitiis ſceleribuſque contaminatos, vere & ex animo Chriſtum colere; quæ autem in religione facerent, retinendæ dominationis cauſa, veluti larva ad fallendum appoſita, egregie ſimulare.*

Gallandius vit. *Caſtell.* cited by Dr. *Jortin.* Life of *Eraſmus*, v. 1. p. 504.

1 P. 322. where inſtead of the 15th, he probably means 1370

From a church, whoſe ruling powers were ſo abominably corrupted, ſo loſt to every ſenſe of ſhame and decency; it was impoſſible to expect that overtures of amendment could be liſtened to at all. The bold promoters of ſuch a ſcheme, were to be deſpiſed, and treated as a ſet of miſerable miſcreants: but the matter ſoon grew too ſerious for this play. To their ſorrow they found that they were engaged with thoſe, who neither courted their favour, nor feared their frowns. From laſhing their vices, and deſpiſing their ignorance, they proceeded to attack the whole ſyſtem of their corrupted Faith. They charged them with putting the inventions of men upon a level with the word of God: they accuſed them of having introduced into the church, for gain, ſuch doctrines and cuſtoms, as were not only not warranted by, but, contrary to, both the doctrines and uſages of the firſt and pureſt ages of the church, as well as the words and intention of S S: that they had taught for doctrines of faith and ſalvation, the commandments of men; and thereby had literally made the word of God of no effect, through their traditions, which they had impiouſly made equal with the word of God.

means the 16th century. However, his teſtimony of either of theſe centuries will very readily be admitted.

This

† Our Author, as if conscious of the reproach, which might fall upon his Church for this frank confession of so many vicious Pontiffs at the head of it, first softened most into several. (v Errata at ye end of 2^d p^t) But in his new Edition, he has sunk it still lower, and dwindled most into some; and in his 2to appendix, he drops some & sticks to several. What need of all this squeamishness! since there is not recorded in the History of any Age, a set of Men more infamous & flagitious than the

Roman Pontifs in the Period before Us. and that acknowledged too by their own Writers.

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1 had never failed of being

1 by expatiating on the many mischiefs which

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This was the ſubſtance of the reformers charge; Which was anſwered, partly by obloquy, and loading them with harſh names, ſuch as heretics, ſchiſmatics, *&c.* and iſſuing out againſt them the ſevere threatenings of bulls and excommunication, and the ſeverer ſentence of the ſtake; and partly, by gravely haranguing on the crime of deſerting the unity of the church, accuſing them of *advancing tenets not known in any prior age; or if ever they were ſet on foot, condemned, as repugnant to what antiquity had always held.* And [illegible] enſue, if they aboliſhed thoſe rules, *which all antiquity had received with reverence, and practiſed with profit?* The former part of the reply was deſpiſed by thoſe, who proceeded upon the ſole motives of conſcience. And for the latter, they averred, that to talk of the *unity of the church* was a falſe and idle pretence, if the church did not preſerve *the unity of the faith* of Chriſt pure and unſullied. And as to the clamour of *novelty* urged againſt them, they not only expreſly denied the charge; but they appealed to the SS, the uncorrupt word of God. They appealed to the Fathers of the three firſt centuries; nay, they ventured lower ſtill, they challenged the authority of the Fathers, to the end of the 6th century, in behalf of their doctrines: and more than

P. 25. / 28

P. 442. / v 2, p 15

that, they ſhewed them the original and progreſs of their own corrupted doctrines; and, with the utmoſt accuracy and preci-
P. 3. ſion, marked the date, when, in ~~the~~ *iron age of ignorance and barbariſm*, they were reſpectively admitted in the church, as *articles of faith*; aſſerting, that the former ages were wholly ignorant of them, but that they came in imperceptibly, under the ſhelter of that miſt and obſcurity, in which ~~the~~ quibbles of ſchool divinity had involved both ſacred and profane literature.

They therefore only recalled men, to the ſtudy of the revealed will and oracles of God. They defended themſelves under this impregnable fortreſs. ~~(And when not convinced, but perſecuted, what~~ *Luther* ~~)~~ ſaid in his defence at the Diet of *Worms*, when ſummoned before the Emperor himſelf, and commanded to recant his writings, was common to them all — *niſi convictus fuero teſtimoniis Scripturarum, aut ratione evidente — victus ſum SS. a me adductis, captaque eſt conſcientia in verbis Dei, revocare neque poſſum, neque volo quidquam, cum contra conſcientiam agere, neque tutum ſit neque integrum.*[1] And another of theſe able and reſolute heroes, publickly and ſolemnly declared, that if they preſumed to call their doctrine a novel one, they muſt impeach the word of God of novelty too: — that they had only

1 *Acta Wormatiæ Habita. Lutheri* opera, v.2. p.166. ed. *Witten.*

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reſtored to thoſe ſacred truths that right to antiquity which had been long over-looked.[1] Thus they went up to the ſource and the fountain of knowledge, to *the genuine ſenſe of the SS.* And *in this manner*, to retort our biographer's words upon himſelf, *the rays of truth and diſcernment were enkindled, which then enlightened mankind, and ſtill continue to ſhine on it.* P. 10, 12.

Our author, fond of the feigned plea of antiquity, is ever objecting to the reformation, for want of a better argument, its ſuppoſed *innovations in religion*, and *its attack upon the ancient faith*, the *faith of their anceſtors*, &c. The common language this of a foiled party! But however odious an imputation this may ſeem to carry with it at firſt, yet, when maturely weighed, it is leſs than nothing: it is attended with nothing terrifying or formidable. If error and ignorance have been placed in the ſeat of P. 26. 109. 173. 177, &c. 129. 129. 197. 201. &c. &c.

1 *Novam quod appellant doctrinam noſtram, Deo ſunt vehementer injurii, cujus ſacrum verbum novitatis inſimulari non merebatur. Illis quidem novam eſſe minime dubito, quibus & Chriſtus novus eſt, & evangelium novum: ſed qui illam Pauli concionem veterem eſſe noverunt, Jeſum Chriſtum mortuum propter peccata noſtra, reſurrexiſſe propter Juſtificationem noſtram, nihil apud nos deprehendent novum. Quod diu incognita ſepultaque latuit, humanæ impietatis crimen eſt: nunc cum Dei benignitate nobis redditur, ſaltem poſtliminii jure ſuam antiquitatem recipere debebat.*

Calvin's preface (before his inſtitutions) to the king of *France*, p. 6. *Genev. R. Stephens*, 1559. Fol.

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reſtored to thoſe ſacred truths that right to antiquity which had been long over-looked.[1] Thus they went up to the ſource and the fountain of knowledge, to *the genuine ſenſe of the SS.* And *in this manner*, to retort our biographer's words upon himſelf, *the rays of truth and diſcernment were enkindled, which then enlightened mankind, and ſtill continue to ſhine on it.* P. 10, 12.

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Calvin's preface (before his inſtitutions) to the king of *France*, p. 6. *Genev. R. Stephens*, 1559. Fol.

truth and knowledge; if ſome doctrines have been incautiouſly received, and for fear of contending with a prevailing party, as implicitly obeyed; it is then the duty of thoſe endued with ſuperiour abilities, and fortitude of mind equal to the taſk, to detect the impoſture, and to exhibit to publick examination, the motives and principles upon which they ground their oppoſition: and if, as ~~*quo antiquiora, eo veriora*~~, the SS. are made the ~~reſolution~~ of their faith, there the ſearch muſt end; for nothing can be obligatory upon the conſcience, *as articles of faith*, but what they *clearly* inculcate. This witneſs or teſtimony will remove the objection of *novelty*; and, in its ſtead, will place, as a barrier to defend its votaries, the venerable name of truly primitive antiquity. But moreover falſly is this charge brought againſt the reformers upon another account. They were not the firſt, who arraigned the corruptions of the *Romiſh* church. There were many before them, who, from time to time, if they did not maintain quite the ſame doctrine, at leaſt oppoſed the ſame articles, with *Luther* and his aſſociates; though, from the greater improvements in literature, theſe latter did it with greater preciſion and knowledge.

As the public, wearied with the bondage, and diſguſted with the corruptions of *the morals of the Clergy, where a change*

P. 141 / 160

was

The more antient Doctrines are, the more true they are also, & their foundation.

Id verius quod prius, id prius quod ab Initio, id ab Initio quod ab Apostolis.

Tertullian: adv. Marcionem Lib. IV. Cap. 5.

was loudly called for, was diſpoſed to give a favourable attention to the endeavours of thoſe who were thus zealous to correct theſe abuſes: ſo we cannot wonder, if, under ſuch able directors, truth and knowledge ſhould gain admittance into the courts of princes, and even into *His* palace, who had condeſcended to enter into the liſts, as the champion of ſinking popery; whoſe polemical merit was notably and gratefully rewarded by his Holineſs, with the title of *Defender of the Faith*; which his ſucceſſors P. 26./29
have thought themſelves better entitled to, by virtue of acts of parliament, than by donation from the biſhop of *Rome*.[1] But this fit of good-nature and cordiality did not laſt long. *Henry*, not meeting afterwards with that compliance he expected from his ſucceſſor in a favorite ſcheme, broke off all connections with that ſee. It is not unlikely, but the ſlippery trick played *Wolſey*, by the Emperor's means, in the repeated diſappointment of the papacy, might alienate him from his intereſt; and not a little chagrin his maſter, who had himſelf reaſon to be perſonally offended with the Emperor.

1 To encourage his Majeſty's loyal ſubjects to read their ſovereign's learned performance, the Pope iſſued out a bull of indulgences for the benefit of their ſouls. *Librum hunc legentibus decem annorum, & totidem quadragenarum indulgentia, apoſtolica authoritate conceſſa eſt.* *Stype*'s memorials, v. 1. p. 34.

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For ſome years, *Charles* the 5th had found it neceſſary to court the friendſhip of the king of *England*. In one of his expeditions ~~here~~ for that purpoſe, we are told, that he was ſolemnly contracted in perſon to the princeſs *Mary*, *per verba de præſenti*, under pain of excommunication, and the penalty of a very conſiderable forfeit.[1] His affairs however ſoon after becoming more ~~and more~~ favourable, ~~to him,~~ not content with barely breaking off the match, he did it with a ſlur upon the lady's honor; becauſe his *Cortez* or council ſaid ſhe was *illegitimate*, as being born in an unlawful marriage,[2] by One who had been wife to his elder brother. This publick affront, with another of the ſame ſort urged by the king of *France*'s ambaſſador, revived thoſe objections, which *Henry* had himſelf, at the beginning, made againſt the legality of his marriage: ~~and~~ it does not appear, that he ever cordially acquieſced in it, farther

1 *Le-Grand*, v. 1. p. 63. *Godwin*'s annals, p. 34. A. D. 1524. *Carte*, v, 3. p. 48. and Lord *Herbert*, p. 315. who ſays, from *Bellay*, that the King of *France*, (who had been priſoner in *Spain*, ever ſince the battle of *Pavia*) paid this forfeit for the Emperor, as part of his ranſom. *Godwin p 66*

2 *Burnet*, v. 1. p. 5. *Heylin*'s hiſt. of queen *Mary*, p. 3. *Carte*, v. 3. p. 80, 83. But *Burnet* afterwards, ſays, that *Henry*, at the Emperor's requeſt, gave him a diſcharge, in full form, of his obligations to marry the princeſs, without taking any notice of the objections againſt the legality of her mother's marriage. Hiſt. ref. v. 3. p. 33.

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[1] Hume's Tudors vol. p 149.

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A Letter from

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than *Catharine*'s good behaviour, and the Pope's diſpenſation, had quieted his conſcience. It is unjuſt and cruel therefore, to lay the riſe of *the divorce* upon *Wolſey* and ſay, it *was ſet on foot by* his *revengeful ſpirit*. P. 28. /32

If any ſtreſs is to be laid upon *Grynæus*'s letter to *Bucer*, *Henry*'s fears and ſcruples had diſquieted him long before any publick notice had been taken of them.[1] The marriage with *Spain* being broke off, a treaty of the ſame nature was propoſed between the princeſs *Mary* and a Son of the King of *France*; which was refuſed, "till it were known whether ſhe be the King of *England*'s lawful daughter or not, for well known it is, that he begat her on his brother's wife, which is directly againſt God's law and his precept."[2] This objection was ſtarted by the biſhop of *Tarbes*, who was the *French* ambaſſador at our court, and was in that capacity two years before in *Spain*, treating for his Sovereign's ranſom, at the very time that the *Cortez* of *Toledo* were ſitting which prevailed upon the Emperor to break off the match with *Eng-*

1 In the year 1531. the king declared to *Grynæus*, that for ſeven years he had abſtained from the queen upon account of his ſcruples. So that the king muſt have had them ſo early as 1524.

Grynæus's letter to *Bucer* referred to by *Burnet*, v. 1. p. 38.

2 *Stowe*, p. 541, & 543. *Herbert*, p. 244. *Burnet*, v. 1. p. 37.

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land; and therefore the biſhop muſt know their reaſons for it, and what paſſed in the *Cortez*.[1] Since therefore *Catherine*'s own family, and the King of *France* (who, in his preſent condition, could not ſubſiſt without *Henry*'s friendſhip, and had lately received the higheſt obligations from him)[2] objected to, or queſtioned, the validity of his marriage; the King himſelf had ſufficient motives to be alarmed, and might well be anxious about the ſucceſſion to his crown. He could not but recollect, as well his own reluctance, as that his father had made him ſign a notarial act proteſting againſt it, and renouncing the contract made in his minority.[3] In purſuance of this act, he waved the conſummation of the marriage, from one time to another, till after his father's death; and then, for political more than religious reaſons, ſubmitted to the determination of the majority of his council. Such circumſtances could never be entirely forgotten: they might be ſuppreſſed for a time: but if ever they came to be agitated again, they muſt burſt out with greater violence; which we ſhall ſhortly find they did.

The mention of this buſineſs of the divorce, and *Pole*'s arrival in *England*, gives our author an opportunity of entertaining

1 *Carte*, v. 3. p. 84.
2 *Herbert*, p. 315.
3 *Carte*, v. 3. p. 3. *Heylin's* hiſtory of *Mary*, p. 2. *Burnet*, v. 1. p. 36. *Records*, p. 10.

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his readers, with a motley character of *Henry*. He expatiates ſo much at firſt upon his good qualities, that one would be tempted to think he was writing a panegyrick: but it is only to wound the deeper, that, like his hero *Pole*, he may give the keener edge to his invectives, by a plauſible impartiality. But this uncommon candour and good-nature does not laſt long; and is ſucceeded by a torrent of the moſt ſcurrilous and implacable rancour, which ends not even with his life. How far *Henry* really deſerved this very injurious treatment, will be better ſeen, when our hiſtorian brings us to the cloſe of his life. We will leave him, in the mean time, in full poſſeſſion of the favourable character here beſtowed upon him.

P. 29, &c. / 32. &c

~~Now~~ The great Cauſe of the Divorce began to be more publickly debated, as the legality of the marriage depended ſolely upon the validity of the Pope's diſpenſation; which was thought to be above every thing, and inconteſtably admitted, as coming from *that tribunal, to which cauſes of ſuch importance were wont to be referred.* Nothing for many years had been ſaid againſt it. But the papal power was now called in queſtion: and that the Biſhop of *Rome* could not diſpenſe with any of the poſitive laws of God, or enable Chriſtians to violate them, was one of the firſt benefits accruing from the promoters of

P. 59. / 66

of the reformation. If an action was ſinful, they averred, the Pope could not ~~not~~ make it virtuous, or innocent. This advantage therefore *Henry*, tho' averſe to their doctrines, reaped from the reformers; not to think ſo highly, as formerly, of the Pope's omnipotency. ~~But yet~~ Willing to have his ſanction, he layed his pleas before him; he urged the tenderneſs of an awakened ſcrupulous conſcience; he deſired redreſs from that court, that a diſpenſation granted, upon falſe ſuggeſtions, without his conſent or knowledge,[1] might not remain in full force to the detriment of himſelf and his kingdom, but be ſet aſide by the ſame authority from whence it received all its force and ſanction.

To aſſert that *Henry*, in this appeal, acted only from luſt and reſentment, or ſatiety, is uttering a cruel and unjuſtifiable cenſure againſt him; and what his behaviour to *Catherine* ſufficiently contradicted. He never was perſonally rude or boiſterous to her, but ever ſpoke reſpectfully of her; ~~and~~ the Popish church-hiſtorian, Mr. *Dod*, always bitter enough againſt him, is forced to acknowledge (though he does it with an ill grace) *that there are indeed ſome remote circumſtances of conſcience which plead in his favour.*[2]

1 *Collier*'s eccleſ. hiſt. v. 2. p. 25. *Carte*, v. 3. p. 86. *Hume*, vi. p 172.

2 *Dod*'s church hiſtory, v. 1. p. 72.

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*[3] Hume, vs. p. 151. Carte, v 3. p 109.

Mr. *Philips* pronounces, that *the earlieſt document which remains of theſe proceedings, is a letter of Secretary Pace to the King, in which he informs him, that he had treated with Dr. Wakefield of the Divorce, and that the Doctor was ready to reſolve the Queſtion, either in the negative or affirmative, juſt as the King thought proper. . . . This letter,* ſays he, *is dated in* 1526, *and, to Wakefield's eternal infamy, is ſtill extant.*[1] — But to his own infamy and confuſion, all that he here aſſerts is falſe and baſely ſcandalous. He had *Burnet*'s 3d vol. of the hiſtory of the reformation before him, and might have learnt better from it.[2] But whether he conſulted it at all; or, if he did, whether his care or his integrity failed him, I leave to his own conſcience, and the reader's judgment, to determine. *Pace*'s letter is indeed extant; and a very honeſt one it is. As the biſhop truly obſerves, it contains nothing, but what is honourable for the King, for himſelf, and for his friend. He informs the King, that he had talked with *Wakefield*, whom he found willing to examine and diſcuſs the cauſe, if he could certainly know, *Whether your Grace wolde be contente to here the trouthe in this matter, whether it were ayenſte you or for you*; and if he was commanded, *He wolde undoubtydly* P. 38. /42

1 *Le Grand*, tom. 3. page 1. --- cited by Mr. *Philips*.
2 *Burnet*'s Introduction to the 3d vol. Ref. p. IV, V. and hiſtory, p. 36.

ſhewe

ſhewe unto your Hyghneſs ſuch thynges, as no man within your realme can atteyne unto or ſhew the like and as well for you as againſt you. Theſe are his words: and theſe are the only paſſages in the whole letter, that could poſſibly give occaſion to *Le Grand*'s wicked calumny;[1] which Mr. *Philips* hath adopted, and muſt therefore anſwer for. Inveterate malice alone can diſcover a ſingle circumſtance in it, that can caſt a ſtain upon *Wakefield*'s memory; or ſhew *that he was ready to reſolve the Queſtion, either in the negative or affirmative, juſt as the King ~~ſhould think~~ proper.* P. 38

A letter of *Wakefield* to the King, on the ſame occaſion, and written at the ſame time, is alſo extant. This, neither *Burnet*, nor *Le-Grand*, ever ſaw: but Mr. *Philips* himſelf might have ſeen it; as it is to be met with in the appendix of ſo well known a book, as *Knight*'s life of *Eraſmus*. *Wakefield* in this letter tells the King, *that he woll and can defende his cauſe or Queſtion in all the Univerſities in Chriſtendom, by the authority of ſcripture, of the beſt Interpreters of the Hebrews, and of the holy Doctors, both Greeks and Latins in Chriſt's Faythe.* He adds, *I have and wol in ſuche maner anſwer to the Biſhop of Rocheſter's booke, that I truſte he ſhall be aſhamy'd to waade or meddyll any further in the matter.*[2]

1 *Le Grand.* hiſt. du divorce, v. 1. p. 46.

2 *Pace*, and *Wakefield*'s letters are both inſerted in the

thought

and all, but Fisher, had declared it
under their hands & seals unlawful.

It muſt be obſerved, that neither of theſe letters was written in 1526, but both in 1527, in which year the biſhops had actually entered into a publick examination of the validity of the marriage,[1] Probably therefore *Pace*'s letter is not the *earlieſt document* (as 'tis called) *which remains of this proceeding*. That it is not ſo in fact, is moſt evident from hence. *Pace*'s and *Wakefield*'s letters were plainly written nearly at the ſame time; but in the latter, mention is made of *Fiſher*'s book, and of an anſwer to it then in ſome forwardneſs: therefore *Fiſher*'s book is an earlier document than *Pace*'s. *Wakefield* had indeed altered his opinion of this matter; and took up the pen in behalf of the King's cauſe, for a very cogent and defenſible reaſon, becauſe he was now perſuaded, that the marriage with *Arthur* was indeed conſummated. A reaſon deemed ſo ſtrong, that *Bellay* declared, and to *Campegio* himſelf, that if the conſummation could be proved, neither the Pope, nor cardinals, could maintain the validity of the diſpenſation. And all the anſwer the legate himſelf could make, was this weak reply, "that tho' his reaſoning "was invincible, yet his own was ſupport-

the appendix to Dr. *Knight*'s Life of *Eraſmus*. N°. 8, and 9. p. xxv, and xxviii. See more of *Pace* in *Wood*'s *Athen. Oxon.* 2d ed. v. 1. p. 29. and of *Wakefield*. ibid. p. 64.

1 *Collier*, v. 2. p. 24. Burnet, v. 1. p. 78. Godwin, p. 55. Hume, v. 5. p. 151.

"able;

" able; becauſe to plead the Pope could not " diſpenſe, would be to ſubvert the papal " power which was unlimited;[1] and it " was, in his opinion, better to ſay, the " diſpenſation was granted upon falſe ſug- " geſtions, than to fall into the latter incon- " venience."[2]

It is of very little importance to enquire, whether *Wolſey* himſelf firſt, or *Longland* the King's confeſſor, by his inſtigation, as P. 38./42 is here affirmed from *Sanders*,[3] *moved this doubt to the King*, Certain it is, the King, in his ſpeech to the legates, at the court at *Black-Friers*, publickly exculpated them both from this accuſation; and "declared his ſcruple to have ariſen from " the biſhop of *Bayon's* objections to the " legitimacy of his daughter *Mary*. That " when, after that, he perceived his con- " ſcience ſo doubtful, he moved it in " confeſſion to biſhop *Longland* then his " ghoſtly father."[4] And this is confirmed in a MS. life of Sir *Thomas More*, ~~wrote~~ not many years after *Longland's* death; in which it is ſaid, "that the biſhop being told what " rumour ran, that the very truth might " be known of him, anſwered, that in very

1 *Bellay's* diſpatches. *Le Grand*, v. 3. p. 196. and p. 216. cited in *Carte's* hiſtory, v. 3. p. 92.
2 *Bellay. Le Grand*, v. 3. p. 217.
3 *Sanders de Schiſmate Anglic.* p. 10. *Burnet*, v. 1. p. 37.
4 *Stow's* Annals, p. 542, 543. *Burnet*, v. 1. p. 72. "deed

Hume, v. 1. p 158

written

deed, he did not break the matter after that ſort as is ſaid; but the King brake the matter to him firſt, and never left urging him, until he had won him to give his conſent." So that if any credit be given to this, or the King's ſolemn affirmation, the doubt was firſt moved by himſelf.

Whilſt this affair was ſo deeply canvaſſed, *Pole*, who was then in *England*, that he might not be involved in theſe contentions, retired to an houſe in the *Carthuſian* monaſtery at *Shene*; where he lived in ſo retired and quiet a manner, that ſince no materials or anecdotes could be produced to illuſtrate this part of his life; our Biographer, following *Quirini*'s ſteps,[2] deſcants upon the praiſes of the *excellent Dean Colet*, who built the houſe in which *Pole* lived during this retirement. He tells us, that the Dean *was very converſant in the writings of the Fathers, and particularly in the holy Scriptures, of which the commentaries he has left are* P. 46./51.

1 Corrections of the two firſt volumes of the Reformation, ſuppoſed to be written by the learned Mr. *Baker* of *Cambridge* from a MS. Coll. *Eman. Cant.*

Burnet, ~~1 vol.~~ Ref. appendix, p. 744. *V. 3.*

2 *Quoniam vero ejus (in Anglia) biennii ſtudiis illuſtrandis, ne unas quidem literas ſeu Poli ad alios, ſeu aliorum ad ipſum, nacti ſumus, quas proferamus, pauca quædam earum loco, de Johanne Coleto, ejuſque ædibus, necnon de Britannicæ Literaturæ ſtatu, qui Polo in Patriam reduci ſeſe obtulit, trademus.* V. 1. p. 230.

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an abundant proof. *Colet* was indeed a truly reſpectable and amiable character: and the world would be much obliged to Mr. *Philips*, if he would communicate the *commentaries* ~~*above mentioned*~~, for what comes from *Colet*'s pen muſt be excellent. But the misfortune is, thoſe who knew him better and perſonally, have lamented, that the Dean could not be prevailed upon to publiſh any thing, his modeſty being as great as his learning: [1] for except the rudiments of grammar, and his famous convocation Sermon, there is nothing of his extant.

In the liſt of *Colet*'s writings, as drawn up in *Wood*'s *Athenæ Oxon*. [2] and the *Biographia Britannica*, there are many titles

1 *Cum enim eſſet natura & eruditione facundus, ac dicenti mira ſuppeteret orationis ubertas, tamen ſcribens ſubinde labebatur in his, quæ ſolent notare critici.* Atque hac ni fallor gratia a libris ſcribendis abſtinebat, *atque* utinam non abſtinuiſſet; *nam hujus viri cogitationes, quacunque etiam lingua proditas optarim.*

Eraſmus Jodoc. Jonæ Erphordienſi, L. 15. p. 480. See the whole of this very remarkable letter in *Jortin's Eraſmus*, v. 2. p. 310.

To the ſame purpoſe, *Geo.* ~~*Lilly*~~ ſon of the famous grammarian *William* ~~*Lilly*~~, the firſt maſter of the Dean's ſchool, and his moſt intimate friend, ſays of him, *nihil autem quod extat in ſcriptis reliquit, nec multa eum ſcripſiſſe conſtat.*

Virorum aliquot in Britannia Elogia, 1559. 8*vo*. cited in *Knight*'s life of *Colet*, p. 252. ſee alſo p. 196, 197.

2 *Wood*'s *Athenæ*, 2d edit. v. 1. p. 12, 13. *Biog. Brit. (Colet)* p. 1405.

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of MSS. mentioned, ſome of which are preſerved in the libraries at *Cambridge*, but written, ſays *Wood*, that few underſtood them. In his will indeed, *he leaves his MSS. in* Parchment, *as comments on* Paul's *epiſtles and abbreviations with many ſuch other to his executor's diſpoſition.*[1] But none of theſe have ever been publiſhed: nor does there appear, in the only fair legible MSS. of his preſerved in Dr. *Gale's* collection,[2] or in his will, the leaſt tincture of popery. We cannot therefore help expreſſing our admiration, how our writer ſhould ſo far forget himſelf, as to ſpeak ſo favourably of *Colet*; who had got much above the prejudices of his times. He had a liberal, a ſolid, and an enlarged way of thinking; and was rather more open in expreſſing his abhorrence of the ſuperſtition and foppery of the *Romiſh* church, than even *Eraſmus* himſelf thought was conſiſtent with prudence. For *Eraſmus* in his treatiſe *de modo orandi Deum*, cenſuring the miſtaken Invocation of Saints, and the expoſing their relicks, tells us, "that he and the dean being joint "ſpectators of the greaſy relicks of *Thomas* "*Becket*, *Colet* could not refrain expreſs-"ing his indignation at this great inſtance

1 *Knight*, p. 466.
2 *Knight's* Introduction to his life, p. VIII.

" of religious folly." [1] His thorough good ſenſe had emancipated him from the jargon of the ſchools, and the theology of the times: and had his life been ſpared a few years longer, his piety, learning and activity, would have placed him at the head of the reformers of his own country.

1 *In Anglia offerunt oſculandum calceum divi Thomæ quondam Archiepiſcopi Cantuarienſis qui forte calceus eſt alicujus Balatronis . . . vidi ipſe, cum oſtentarent linteola lacera, quibus vir ille dicitur abſterſiſſe muccum narium, abbatem & cæteros qui aſtabant aperto Scriniolo venerabundos procidere ad genua, ac manibus etiam ſublatis, adorationem geſtu repræſentare. Iſta Johanni Coleto, nam is mecum aderat, videbantur indigna, & mihi ferenda videbantur, donec ſe daret opportunitas, ea citra tumultum corrigendi.*

Eraſ. modus orandi Deum, p. 90. ed. *Leyden*. 24°. 1641.

In his dialogue *de Peregrinatione Religionis ergo*, he gives a fuller and more particular account of the Dean's holy warmth at ſuch ſuperſtitious and offenſive fopperies, under the feigned name of *Gratianus Pullus*; whoſe free remarks aſtoniſhed the monks, and made *Eraſmus* tremble. For the prior of the ~~Auguſtinian monaſtery~~ at *Canterbury*, offering to theſe two ſtrangers a bleſſed clout of that precious Saint to be kiſſed, *Gratianus heic parum gratus, non ſine faſtidii ſignificatione, digitis contrectavit unum, & contemtim repoſuit, porrectis labiis, veluti Poppiſmum imitans; nam hic illi mos erat, ſi quid offenderet, quod tamen contemnendum eſſe judicaret. Meum animum ſimul & pudor, & timor diſcruciabant. Gratianus Pullus* (who is ſaid in this dialogue to be *& Anglus, & notus, nec mediocris authoritatis vir*) and *Colet*, muſt be the ſame, from the ſimilarity of the circumſtances.

Eraſ. Dial. *Per. Rel. ergo.* Ed. var. p. 441. See this confirmed by Dr. *Jortin.* Life of *Eraſmus*, v. 2. p. 706.

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/ Cathedral Church

We are aſſured from the beſt authority, that he diſſented greatly from many of the received religious opinions of the times; and, as he never attempted to conceal or diſguiſe his diſlike of them, would in private be very open in expreſſing his ſentiments. Monkery and its ſtate was the frequent object of his avowed contempt. He was a diligent reader of heretical books; and made no ſcruple to declare, that he learned more from them, than from thoſe dogmatical writers, who only flattered themſelves, and the heads of their own party.[1] Theſe free ſentiments created him ſuch trouble, that very hardly his body living, or dead, could eſcape the fire.[2]

Such was the excellent ſpirit of Dean *Colet*, one of the forerunners of the reformation: and we can hardly think, that Mr. *Phillips* was aware of the contents of that letter of *Eraſmus* to which he ſo obligingly

1 *Opinionibus a vulgo multum diſſidebat, ſed mira prudentia hac in re ſeſe attemperabat aliis . . . inter amicos ac doctos liberrime profitebatur, quid ſentiret. ---- erga monaſteria, quæ nunc falſo nomine pleraque ſic vocantur, minimum habebat affectus. --- Nullus erat liber tam hæreticus, quem ille non attente evolveret, dicens ſe plus aliquotiens ex illis capere fructus, quam ex horum libris, qui ſic omnia definiunt, ut frequenter adulentur Coryphæis, nonnunquam & ſibi ipſis.*

Eraſ. ep. *Jodoc. Jonæ*, L. 15, p. 480. ed *Baſil. Froben.*

2 *Knight*'s life of *Colet*, p. 86 ---- 94.

P. 47/52 referred us for ~~the~~ *ſketch of his friend's life.* But meeting in *Quirini* with the quotation of the note, ſaid by the cardinal to be an extract from EPISTLE 435, and wrote to *Juſtus Jonas* of ERFURT,[1] our haſty, ignorant, blundering tranſcriber boldly puts *Jonas* down for *Biſhop of* HEREFORD; and refers to the book of *Eraſmus*'s epiſtles PAGE 435, not conſidering, how many free ſtrictures there are in that memorable letter, againſt ſome of the doctrines and cuſtoms of his own church.

Whilſt *Pole* was purſuing his ſtudies in the Dean's lodgings, the affair of the divorce was proſecuted with great ardour, and laid before the *Court of Rome*, which,

P. 51./57 ſays Mr. *Phillips, had carried her condeſcention to Henry as far as even the appearances of equity would allow.* The Pope was then but in bad plight, having lately fled from *Rome*, where he had been beſieged by the Imperialiſts; and with great difficulty, and in diſguiſe, had reached *Orvieto*, when *Henry*'s ambaſſadors were introduced to his frighted and diſcomfited Holineſs. They ſoon found, that he was as much a captive there, and in awe of the Emperor, as when beſieged by him in the caſtle of St. *Angelo*—

1 *Eidem (ſc. Coleto) quodammodo parentavit in* Epiſt. 435. *idque ut Jodocæ Jonæ* ERFORDIENSI *ſatisfaceret.*
Quirini, v. 1. p. 231.

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aliqua mutatio ſoli, (as they expreſs it) *ſed nulla libertatis*. Their very full and ſatisfactory diſpatches to *Wolſey* repreſent him in the utmoſt panick, not venturing to ſpeak out; ſometimes giving them hopes of yielding to their deſires; ſometimes warily protracting the debates. One frank acknowledgment however he made, which was, "he was not learned; and to ſay truth albeit it were a ſaying in the law, that *Pontifex habet omnia jura in ſcrinio pectoris*, yet God never gave him the key to open *illud ſcrinium*."[1]

The Pope did indeed, at the ambaſſadors requeſt, grant a decretal bull, to confirm what the legates ſhould determine, and thereby make their ſentence irrevocable; but it was upon the ſtricteſt aſſurances of ſecrecy, that it ſhould be communicated to *none* but the King and *Wolſey*, and that very privately: however his fears returned, and his heart ſoon miſgave him for this conceſſion; for the Emperor being maſter of *Italy*, he ordered *Campegio* to burn it. But afterwards, by *Gardiner*'s importunity he ſigned a promiſe or *pollicitation* as it was called, not to revoke the commiſſion grant-

1 The King's ambaſſador's letter to *Wolſey*, in *Strype's* memorials, v. 1. hiſt. p. 91. and 101. Records, p. 46. and 62.

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ed to the legates, but to ratify their decrees, which ſhould be final. [1]

P. 51. 57 Mr. *Philips* ſeems to confound theſe two bulls together. The decretal one, was burnt by *Campegio*. [2] But the other is ſtill extant in our records. [3] And lord *Herbert*, tho' he ſpeaks doubtfully of it, yet adds, "that as divers original diſpatches both before and after, give ſome touches of it; ſo it may challenge better credit than to be thought a minute, and much leſs a counterfeit and ſuppoſed piece, which is alſo the more probable, in that the Pope granted ampler teſtimonies than this in favour of the divorce." [4] Mr. *Philips* endeavours to ſet this aſide, which he calls

P. 52. Note. 58 *the conjecture of this nobleman*, from *the ſtyle in which the Pope, ſoon after, wrote to his legates*. But this is no reaſon: for the Pope was ever irreſolute, ſhuffling backwards and forwards, juſt as he was awed by the Em-

1 *Carte*, v. 3. p. 91. *Burnet*, v. 1. p. 58. and 66. Records, p. 40. and 41. *&c.*

2 There was however a copy of it taken, and it is inſerted at the end of *Anti-Sanderus*, p. 200, of which the author ſays, *tabulæ illæ tanta ſolertia cuſtodiebantur, ut non in multorum manus exiverint, noſtras tamen (uti ſit) non evaſerunt*, p. 15. See alſo *Strype's* life of Arch-bp *Parker*, p. 382, 383. & *Herbert*, p. 279, who took it from *Anti-Sanderus*, and ſays, that he met, in our archives, ſome diſpatches that make it *probable*.

3 *Burnet*, v. 3. p. 362. *Herbert*, p. 249.

4 *Herbert*, p. 248.

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peror, in whoſe power he was; or, as he might have cauſe to apprehend the King of *England*'s defection (who began openly to cenſure him for his dilatory, fickle conduct) [1] if his requeſts were not complied with. *Burnet* indeed ſays, "that lord *Herbert* ſeemed in ſome doubt concerning it, but," he adds, "probably he had not ſeen the letter that *Wolſey* wrote to *Gardiner*, in which he mentions the *Pollicitation*, that he had in his hands, with ſeveral other letters, that mention it very frequently." [2]

Campegio, the other, long-expected, legate, being at laſt arrived, after a delay of ſix months from the time of his appointment; though he opened his commiſſion, ſoon after his arrival, yet he managed it with the ſame affected delays, which had procraſtinated his arrival, agreeably to the Pope's injunctions. But we are told, freſh ambaſſadors were ſent to *Rome upon a moſt extraordinary commiſſion, . . . to aſk the Pope, as of their own motion, to permit the King to marry again, in caſe the Queen entered on a monaſtic life*. What ~~the~~ overtures were, are related by *Burnet*: [3] and what *Vannes* was to ſay, as of himſelf, was, to lay be-

P. 53/59

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1 *Strype's* Memorials, v. 1. p. 108.
2 *Burnet*, v. 3. p. 37.
3 *Burnet*, v. 1. p. 60. and alſo more fully by *Collier*, v. 2. p. 29.

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fore the Pope ſeriouſly, the ill conſequences of any ungrateful behaviour to the King, if his Holineſs, for partial reſpects and fears, ſhould refuſe the King's deſires.[1] And, if their inſtructions were as here maintained, they did not differ from his Holineſs's own opinion. For *Sanders*, whoſe authority Mr. *Philips* will not object to, relates, that upon a warm remonſtrance from the Emperor, againſt hearing the cauſe in *England*, the Pope ſent four meſſengers after *Campegio*, who was then upon his Journey, charging him to proceed as ſlowly as poſſible; to endeavour to reconcile the King and Queen; and, if that could not be effected, "*then to try to perſuade her to take on her the religious ſtate:* if neither of theſe could be brought about, not to preſume to give any definitive ſentence, without freſh and expreſs commandment from himſelf."[2]

When the hearing of the cauſe came on, P. 54. 65 *the Queen*, ſays Mr. *Philips*, *produced the original diſpenſation from Spain, the genuineneſs of which her managers ſufficiently proved.* Our writer is one of thoſe, who think little more is requiſite to eſtabliſh truth, than a bold and preſumptuous affirmation. This diſpenſation here produced was the famous

1 Ibid. See the Inſtructions. Records, p. 47.
2 *Sanders* de ſchiſmate, p. 32. *Herbert*, p. 252.

Breve

Breve of *Julius* 2d, contrived to remedy the defects of a ~~former~~ preceding bull, by allowing the 2d marriage with *Henry, tho' the former with Arthur had been consummated*; to which many strong objections were made. That it appeared not in the records either of *England* or *Spain*, but was said to be found amongst the papers of the *Spanish* ambassador *de Puebla*, who was here at the concluding of the match: that many names were falsly written: that it bore date the very same day that the bull was granted: and that it allowed the consummation, which the Queen herself denied.[1] So that it was looked upon as a forgery; and the Queen's proctors made no reply.

The Queen indeed did aver she came *a virgin to Henry's bed.* This will but ill agree with what *Burnet* relates, "that the *Spanish* ambassador, had by his master's orders, taken proofs of the consummation of her marriage with *Arthur*, and sent them into *Spain.*[2]" And the King, in a minute sent to his ambassador at *Rome*, orders him to acquaint his Holiness, "that when the dispensation for the marriage between him and *Catherine* was obtained, a league was renewed and concluded be-

P. 55. 162

1 *Burnet*, v. 1. p. 68. Records, p. 67. *Herbert*, p. 264, 269. *Carte*, v. 3. p. 93. N° 57. 3

2 *Burnet*, v. 1. p. 35. *Hume*, v. 5. p 158.

"tween

tween their parents the Kings of *England* and *Spain*. In which league is alſo plainly mentioned and expreſſed in two places thereof, that the marriage between our ſaid brother and her was ſolemnized and perfectly conſummated."[1] The preſumption is certainly againſt her: and either ſhe, or Prince *Arthur*, muſt have maintained a falſhood; the one out of vanity, the other from intereſt. For there were as full and clear proofs of the conſummation, as an affair of ſo ſecret a nature would allow, and what is every where admitted as ſufficient evidence: and
P. 57. 64 though *the witneſſes* are here ſaid to be *garbled*; they were ſuch as, from their rank and ſtation at court, were privy to thoſe tranſactions, and well acquainted with all the particulars.[2] Abundantly ſufficient are they to confute the ridiculous fiction invented by *Sanders*, of an ancient grave matron being in the ſame bed with *Arthur* and *Catherine*, to prevent conſummation. Neither did *Catherine*'s managers attempt to invalidate the teſtimony of any one of the witneſſes. And moreover, if *Catherine* was ſo ſure of her coming a *virgin* to *Henry*'s bed, why did ſhe keep the court and

v. 3

1 *Burnet*, ~~3. vr Ref. hiſt.~~ p. 86. Records, p. 391. *Carte*, v. 3. p. 119. citing *Rymer*, v. 14, p. 448.

2 *Herbert*, p. 270. *Burnet, v. 1. p. 100. 101. Carte, v. 3. p 95. 96. Collier, v. 2. p. 36* king-

1

1 Had it not been

1² Revocatio..

kingdom in ſuch ſuſpence after *Arthur*'s deceaſe? that it was ſix months after that event, before *Henry* took the title of Prince of *Wales*, that it might be known whether ſhe was pregnant or no; "*Arthur* being upon the point of 16 years of age when he died, and forward and able in body."[1] And as ſhe herſelf, for the better ſecurity of her latter marriage, got the ſuppoſed 2d bull with the clauſe *(vel forſan cognitam)* which was not in the former, inſerted; it renders this her affirmation the more ſuſpicious, and liable to invincible objections.

When theſe evidences were gone through, and the final determination eagerly expected, *Campegio prorogued the Court:* which abrupt tranſaction was owing to the Pope's having, at the requeſt of the Emperor, revoked the cauſe to *Rome*;[2] peace being lately made between them. ~~And but~~ for this, it is very likely, the legates would have determined the cauſe in the King's favour; having lately ſent his Holineſs a memorable diſpatch, wherein they ſhew themſelves inclinable to ſatisfy the king, and "repreſent the bad conſequences of a refuſal. They confeſs the impolitic behaviour of the queen: they complained, that whereas other Popes had made no ſcruple to make and change divine laws at their pleaſure;

1 *Bacon's* hiſt. of *Hen.* 7, p. 118.

2 *Burnet*, v. 1. p. 74–77. "yet
Carte, v. 3. p. 96.

P. 57./64

Carte, v. 3. p. 89.

yet one Pope ſticks ſo much at the repealing what his predeceſſor did, as if that were more ſacred, and not to be meddled with."[1] But no remonſtrances could avail: and the Pope, in obedience to the Emperor, revoked the cauſe to himſelf; which, and with great reaſon, irritated *Henry* much, and haſtened thoſe legal parliamentary proceedings, by which the Pope's power in *England* was abrogated. But his Holineſs was under a conſtant dread of the Emperor, who kept a rod continually over his head: and [himſelf knew, ſhould any rigid enquiry be made] into his own election to the papacy, upon how precarious a footing he held the infallible chair. His legitimate birth was much queſtioned: and cardinal *Colonna*, a creature of the Emperor, had got a note from him, promiſing him preferment, in caſe he ſhould, by his aſſiſtance, get the papacy; and this he every now and then, to [awe him,] threatened to produce.[2]

Thus ended, without any deciſion, the legates commiſſion.[3] The Pope taking the

1 *Burnet*, v. 1. p. 68, 69. Records, p. 67.

2 Father *Paul*'s hiſt. of the council of *Trent*, B. 1. p. 42. *Eng.* edit. and *Courayer's Fr.* ed. v. 1. p. 65. note. *Carte*, v. 3. p. 83.

3 For a ſuccinct account of the legates proceedings, conſult *Burnet*, v. 3. p. 46. See alſo very full and particular extracts from *Bellay*'s diſpatches in the ſame vol. p. 39, 42, 49, 54, &c. relating to the divorce, taken

{ moreover, in his present distressful
Situation, he could not help frequently
reflecting, that if any rigid Enquiry should be

{ to keep him in awe

determination of this affair entirely to himſelf, *Henry* having already experienced his timidity, diſſimulation and partiality, refuſed to ſtand to the award of ſo manageable a judge; but appealing from him, he referred the conſideration of his caſe to the free and impartial examination of the learned in *the moſt celebrated univerſities*. It is indeed P. 59. / 66. to be feared, that, in this, as in all caſes, carried on with violence and heat, the managers might not always conduct themſelves with that attention to order and decorum, which calm and unconcerned poſterity would juſtify and approve. That *Henry* might not occaſionally exert ſome undue *pecuniary influences*, over particular univerſities or perſons, cannot perhaps be abſolutely denied: but the ſame was done, and with greater profuſion, by the friends of the oppoſite party. *Cæſar*, ſays *Croke*, *minis, precibus, pretio, & Sacerdotiis, partim territat noſtros, partim confirmat ſuos.*[1] Whereas he, who was one of the buſieſt and ableſt of the king's agents abroad, declares and proteſts, "he never gave nor

ken from *Le-Grand*, v. 3. and much more intereſting, than the trifling extracts about the ſweating ſickneſs referred to by Mr. *Philips*, p. 48---50. but as they confirm and eſtabliſh the narration of that tranſaction given us by our own hiſtorians, they were, for that reaſon undoubtedly, omitted by our impartial biographer.

1 *Herbert*, p. 329. Carte, v. 3. p 109.

"pro-

promiſed any Divine any thing, till he had firſt freely written his mind, and what he then gave, was rather an honourable preſent than a reward ~~and there is~~ a bill of his accounts yet extant, whereby his gifts appear plainly to be nothing more than ſmall acknowledgments: ſo that it was ſaid at *Ferrara*, that they who wrote for the King had but a few crowns a-piece, and they who wrote on the other ſide had good benefices."[1] The univerſities of *Bononia* and *Padua* refuſed the offer of money with theſe words, *quod a Spiritu ſancto gratis accepimus, gratis & libenter impertimur.*[2] In the latter place, the King's cauſe was earneſtly ſupported by *Leonicus*, P. 15. *Pole*'s great friend, mentioned before with ſo much honour; who was very inſtrumental in deviſing the inſtrument of that univerſity in corroboration of the King's cauſe.[3] And if all theſe learned men were bribed, and were ſo ſhamefully proſtitute, as for a few crowns to contradict their honour and conſciences, let Mr. *Philips* make the beſt apology he can for them. They were found members of his communion: and if they had neither the fear of God, nor the Pope, before their eyes, we cannot

1 ~~Ibid.~~ *Burnet*, v. 1. p. ~~90.~~ 89. 90.
2 *Herbert*, p. 329.
3 *Burnet*, v. 1. Records, p. 88. *Strype's* memorials, v. 1. p. 143. Append. p. 106.

help

* " and this he repeats in another Letter, and
" says upon the pain of his head if the
" contrary be proved.. There is also

Herbert, p 329.

help it. Only gentler words and ſome proof may be expected, when cenſures ſo ſevere are paſſed.[1]

He has indeed vouchſafed ſome commendation to the *proteſtant divines*,[2] for their upright acting in this matter: and it was very much to their honour, that the divorce met no where with greater difficulty or oppoſition, than amongſt them.[3] There is an earneſt letter of *Luther* extant, (as every thing he wrote is ſo) to *Barnes* the King's agent in *Germany*, vehemently diſſuading the divorce; and if nothing elſe would do, that rather than approve of it, he would recommend it to the king to take two wives: and in this opinion, this grand hereſiarch hit upon the ſame expedient, which his Holineſs himſelf had propoſed to the King's ambaſſador at *Rome*.[4]

P. 59. 67

1 The Determinations of the univerſities, *Burnet*, v. 1. p. 87 ---- 91. Records, p. 89 ---- 94.

2 In a qnotation from *Larrey* taken from *Quirini*, v. 1. p. 240.

3 All the *Lutherans* be utterly againſt your highneſs in this cauſe, and have letted as much with their wretched power, malice, without reaſon or authority as they could and might, as well here, as in *Padua* and *Ferrara*, where be no ſmall companies of them.

Croke to the King, *Burnet*. v. 1. Records, p. 88.

4 *Antequam tale repudium probarem, potius Regi permitterem, alteram Reginam quoque ducere, & exemplo Patrum & Regum duas ſimul uxores, ſeu Reginas habere.*

Lutherus Antonio Anario Anglo, (for ſo *Barnes* was called in *Germany*) in col. ep. *Halæ*, 4to. 1717. p. 289.

Supe-

Amongſt thoſe, whom *Henry* employed abroad to ſollicit his cauſe, he ordered his kinſman and penſioner *Pole*, to ~~ſollicit his cauſe~~ promote it at *Paris*. A moſt ungrateful and diſagreable commiſſion; and which could not but give him great uneaſineſs: for he ſeems very early to have acted an open and a fair part, and from the beginning to have publickly oppoſed meaſures he could not approve. The faithful and accurate Mr. *Strype* has taken notice of a circumſtance omitted by other hiſtorians, which is, that ſo early as 1530, he put into the King's hands a diſſuaſive from his attempt, which was delivered to *Cranmer* for his examination of it; who acknowledged, "the goodly eloquence of it, both of words and ſentence. The intent of it was to perſuade the King, upon merely political motives, to commit his great cauſe to the judgement of the Pope, wherein, ſays *Cranmer*, me ſeemeth he lacketh much judgement." [1] It was, afterwards in another form, work'd up and inſerted in his famous treatiſe *de unitate eccleſiaſtica*.

Superioribus diebus, pontifex ſecreto, veluti rem quam magni faceret, mihi proponit conditionem hujuſmodi, concedi *poſſe, veſtræ majeſtati*, ut duas uxores habeat.
Herbert, p. 330. *Carte*, v. 3. p. 107.

1 *Strype's* Life of *Cranmer*, p. 6. Records, p. 3. in a letter wrote by Dr. *Cranmer* to the earl of *Wiltſhire*, before his ambaſſy's abroad.

- *Henry's*

† D p 116. Burnet, v. 1. p. 130

became

Henry's indignation and reſentment at the diſappointment he met with, that the legate's pompous commiſſion ſhould end in nothing but ſmoke, ſhewed itſelf in falling with the utmoſt ſeverity upon his favourite, *Wolſey*; whoſe ruin from that time was inevitable. And this mighty cardinal ſoon experienced the fickleneſs of worldly power and fortune; being ſuddenly hurried from the greateſt proſperity, to the loweſt degree of dejection and adverſity. But notwithſtanding this reverſe of fortune, his condition was never ſo bad, as our Author repreſents it, when he ſays, that he *muſt have periſhed through want, had not a few well-diſpoſed perſons, . . . relieved him.* During all his troubles, he never was without a great number of attendants ſuitable to his ſtation and dignity. At the firſt breaking out of the ſtorm, when his effects were ſeized, he lay under ſome difficulties (and much to his honour was it) with regard to a preſent reſource of money, to ſupport his train of gentlemen and yeomen, *which was*, ſays his ſervant *Cavendiſh, no ſmall company; though they had good ſtore of all kinds of victuals, and of beer and Wine plenty*; till the grateful and the faithful *Cromwell*, who was the chief *of thoſe few well-diſpoſed perſons*, with ſome others of his houſhold, by their generous contributions, enabled him P. 63. /72

to diſcharge his menial ſervants.[1] But no ſooner was the King acquainted with his diſtreſs, than he reſtored to him the revenues of *York*, and of *Wincheſter* alſo, or at leaſt a large yearly penſion out of it, a 1000 marks of which he ordered to be immediately paid him; and ſent him by *Cromwell* 10,000 pounds of his benevolence, telling him, *he ſhould not lack, and bidding him be of good comfort*. He alſo ſent or gave him as much goods and plate, as amounted to upwards of 6000 pounds. And his retinue, when he ſet out to go into *Yorkſhire*, was very conſiderable; having 160 horſe in his train, and 72 carts of houſhold furniture.[2] Great preparations were making at *York*, for a magnificent inſtallation, when the king interrupted the ſplendour of this feaſt: and death, ſoon after, put an end to all his troubles.

When he retired from *London*, upon the loſs of the great ſeal, and the breaking out of the King's diſpleaſure, he ſtaid ſome time at *Aſher*; and from thence removed to *Richmond*, where he lay in the ſame lodgings ~~that~~ *Pole* uſed to reſide, in the houſe built by dean *Colet*; where he ſpent his time full as uſefully as our Author's

1 *Cavendiſh's* life of *Wolſey*, 8vo. ed. *London*, 1706. p. 145, 146. *Stowe*, 548, 549.

2 *Cavendiſh*, p. 167. *Stowe*, p. 555. *Rapin*, v. 1. p. 789. *Carte*, v. 3, p. 100. *Burnet*, v. 1. p. 80.

Hero

upon

Hero could do. Here, we are told, he got his firſt turn to religion; and *every afternoon he would ſit in contemplation with ſome of the moſt ancient fathers of the monaſtery, who converted him to deſpiſe the vanities of this world, and there they gave unto him ſhirts of hair to wear next his body, which he wore divers times after.*[x2] He was in this time of his diſgrace, an object of great compaſſion. His old maſter, the King, had caſt him off; the Pope did not care for him; *Catherine* and *Anne Bolen* both deteſted him; and all his friends, ſave *Cromwell* and *Gardiner*, had forſaken him. Whatſoever failings he had, they were the failings of a great ſoul, for he was liberal and munificent to exceſs, and above the mean arts of rapacious miniſters: he employed his immenſe income, in works of grandeur and hoſpitality, and in ſuch actions as reflected honour and credit on his ſtation. Mr. *Phillips*'s Friend, the church hiſtorian, has ſpoke more favourably and more fairly of the cardinal's character: and with him we will hope, that the errors of his life were all attoned for, by a timely and hearty repentance.[1]

The death of this great cardinal, could *Pole* have conformed himſelf to the prevailing meaſures of the court, would have

[1] Church hiſtory, v. 1. p. 155. Dod's

 opened

[x2] Stowe p 534. Cavendish p 166

ſame

ment,

opened the way to his advancement to the beſt preferments which the King's love and power could have heaped upon him. A tender of the arch-biſhoprick of *York* was made him, on condition that he would not oppoſe the divorce. But he rejected a dignity, which he could not accept of, but on terms which he deemed ~~ingominious~~ inglorious. This circumſtance would doubtleſs have reflected much honour on his character, had not he himſelf unfortunately told us in his epiſtle to King *Edward*, (ſect. 34) that he took a month to debate the matter with himſelf; during which time he confeſſed (ſect. 36) he found out a method to reconcile his honour and his intereſt; that he went full-fraught with it to the King, when preparing to utter his ſalvo, his conſcience took the alarm, firſt ſtopped his mouth, and then extorted from him language the very reverſe of that which he came prepared to deliver.[2] It is not to be wondered, that *Burnet* treats this conference of *Pole* with the King, as fabulous: he had never ſeen either *Beccatelli*, or *Dudithius*'s life [1] of

1 The biſhop in his reflections on the 3d and 4th tomes of *Varillas's* hiſtory of hereſies, ſays that Mr. *Varillas* mentions no author with regard to *Engliſh* affairs, but the Arch-bp of *Raguſa*, who, as he ſays, writ the life of cardinal *Pole*: he adds, I do not pretend to deny, that there is any ſuch author, only I very much doubt of it, for I never heard of it in *England*, ... and

ignominious.

#2 Pole relates ye same Story, and with the same circumstances, in his Letter to the Parliament, Sect IV. v Quirini, v.s. p 189.

1 ~~as well~~ by acknowledging his Supremacy;
2 by presenting him with a good
round Sum of Money
1 2 mitigate his Wrath &

1 arising

him; and neither *Pole*'s letter to the parliament, nor to *Edward* the 6th, was in his time publiſhed. He was therefore ſurely no way to be blamed, for not crediting an account, which had then no other foundation than *Sanders*'s aſſertion, an authority leſs than nothing. But the circumſtance of *Henry's putting his hand to* his *dagger*, . . . *and* being *hindered by nothing, but the modeſt intrepidity of the ſpeaker, from imbruing it in his blood*, being omitted by *Pole* in his addreſs, both to the parliament and *Edward* the 6th, and being only mentioned by the writers of his life; it may well be queſtioned, whether *Henry*'s paſſion, at his kinſman's remonſtrance, proceeded to ſuch extremities, as to threaten his life. P. 67. / 75

The clergy being unfortunately included in a Præmunire, in the ſame manner as *Wolſey*, were glad to gratify the King ~~with~~ ~~in the ſupremacy, and a good round ſum~~ by way of gift, to prevent the ſeverities of the law. And the parliament limiting their power in ſome eccleſiaſtical caſes, the zeal of the biſhop of *Rocheſter* was excited; and he made ſome reflections upon theſe proceedings, as ~~coming~~ *from the want of faith*. Upon which, complaint being made, he

. . . and I took all the pains I could to be well informed of all that had writ of him.

Amſterdam edit. 1685. 12°. p. 10.

was

P. 70./70 was far from ſhewing the *intrepidity*, here ſo greatly commended, when he condeſcended to make this paltry excuſe for himſelf, by ſaying he meant it only of the people of *Bohemia*.[1] And though he had ſpoken it of them, the thing was falſe in fact: for the troubles in *Bohemia* were entirely owing to the Emperor *Sigiſmond's* forfeiting his honour and ſafe conduct, given to *John Huſs* at the council of *Conſtance*, through the ſuggeſtion of the Pope and his ſycophants; who perſuaded him, that no faith was to be kept with heretic~~k~~s. However the biſhop's excuſe was accepted, and the complaint was dropt. But *Le-Grand*, from whom all this ſmart paſſage about the

P. 70./78 biſhop is tranſlated, 'does not upon this occaſion report that *blaſphemy* of *Cromwell*, *which* this pious man *dares not repeat*, ~~but~~, as himſelf knows very well, was ſpoken (and is even applied by himſelf elſewhere) upon another occaſion, *upon Arch-bp Warham's* communication with the Nun of *Kent*; when we own that *Cromwell* did make uſe of an indecent and profane, though not a blaſphemous, expreſſion.[2] But right or wrong,

P. 293./335

1 *Le-Grand*, hiſt. du divorce, v. 1. p. 165.

2 *Le Meme*, v. 1. p. 243. *Cromwell* is reported to have threatened the Arch-biſhop's life, and ſome partiſans of *Rome* telling him there muſt be a good deal of formality in the proceſs againſt this Biſhop ---*à cauſe diſent-ils, qu'il eſt l'oint du Seigneur, & que Dieu a défendu*

3. Burnet, v1. p 82. Hume, v. 1. p. 164. Collier, v. 2. p 45.

and,
supposed to be

1

in order

properly or improperly, Mr. *Phillips's* reſentment muſt fall upon thoſe he diſlikes.

As *Pole* was in *England*, whilſt that convocation ſat, wherein the clergy's compoſition was offered to eſcape the penalties of a præmunire, and when they acknowledged the King's ſupremacy, *Burnet* had ſaid, that it is very *probable* that *Pole*, who was dean of *Exeter*, was one of the number who agreed to it: this gave occaſion to *Quirini*, [1] and his ſervile copier and tranſlator, to cenſure the biſhop in a very unfair manner. In the firſt place, the biſhop does not ſay *he makes no doubt*, but only *it is very probable*: and the reaſons he gives, are theſe; that *Pole* was then in *England*, and preſent when the King refuſed the compoſition, unleſs the ſupremacy was agreed to; and that it is not likely the King would have continued his penſions and preferments, if he had refuſed to ſign the petition and ſubmiſſion. [2] So that the biſhop

P. 71./80 Note.

fendu de toucher à ſes oins, mais, ajoûtoit Cromwel, ſi le Roy m'en veut croire, il le fera attacher en Croix comme ſon Chriſt; & parce qu'il eſt Archevêque on luy donnera une Potence plus haute, qu'aux autres. Quoted from a MS. hiſtory of the divorce.

nameleſs

1 The whole note at the bottom of page 71, 72. is tranſlated from *Quirini*, v. 1. the firſt part of it occurs, p. 243, 244, and the latter, reflecting upon the *copiers* of this ſuppoſed *ſlander*, and the other writers, *whoſe notice it eſcaped*, p. 249 of the ſame vol.

2 *Burnet*, v. 1. p. 112, 113.

did

did not go upon positive, but only presump-
P. 72. Note. tive grounds. Neither does he *a few lines lower* destroy his own weak argument, as *Quirini*, and his constant follower, calls it; but several *pages after* [1] he owns, that he could not discover of what persons the two houses of convocation were made up in times of popery; and that his conjecture was, that deans sat in the upper house. But this was only his private opinion: and upon better information he retracted and corrected this mistake. [2] A candid adversary would not have continued this slander upon the bishop's memory: and tho' *Quirini* might not have seen the 3d vol. of bishop *Burnet's* history of the reformation, Mr. *Phillips* has, and is therefore inexcusable.

It is very likely, that before matters were come to a crisis, *Henry* had many anxious fears and inward apprehensions: however he kept them to himself; they did not transpire; for the dispatches he sent abroad speak the usual spirit of vigour and resolu-
P. 73. tion. But *a ray of light*, we are told, *at length pierced the chaos of passion, which had long overspread his mind*. This may be pretty language, but ~~not the truer for all that~~. If the ray of light appeared, it was soon

1 Ibid. p. 129, 130.

2 *Burnet*, v. 2. p. 413 Appendix; and more fully, v. 3. p. 81.

lost

† had

[2]alas! it is not the truth.

---

* Mr P, it is plain, did not consult Burnet upon the occasion, but catched at Quirini's words hæc verba statim subjungat, which he satisfied himself, by rendering a few lines lower; and looked no farther.

strenuous in the defence of

Tarbes

loſt in a cloud; and *Henry* recovered his courage. He found the Pope's threats to be a meer *brutum fulmen*. He found the learned, throughout *Europe*, ~~ſtrenuouſly to defend~~ his cauſe. He found his ſubjects, for the moſt part, heartily to concur with him, in aboliſhing the biſhop of *Rome's* abſurd and uſurped claim. And of late years he had very ſtrong precedents to juſtify his proceedings. So lately as in 1520, the famous Monſr. *Lautrech*, governour of *Milan*, deprived the Pope of all his juriſdiction ~~in~~ in that dukedom; diſpoſed of eccleſiaſtical benefices: and the church, ſays *Thuanus*, was governed by the biſhop of ~~*Bigorre*~~ in *France*, without the intervention of the pope.[1] From the ſame authority too, we learn, that in 1524, the Emperor himſelf, to revenge the injury done him by pope *Clement*, had abrogated his authority throughout *Spain*.[2] Theſe were good examples for an high ſpirited prince to follow, who, as he was a reader of books, could not be ignorant of *Gerſon's* famous treatiſe *de auferibilitate papæ*; and well knew how to avail himſelf of the arguments there urged.

This ſuppoſed fluctuation in the King's breaſt, gives our biographer an opportunity of returning to his ſubject, and introducing

1 *Thuanus*, lib. 1. A. D. 1520.
2 Ibid. lib. 1. A. D. 1524. See also, Mosheim's Eccles: Hist. v. 2. p. 39.

his

his hero again upon the ſtage. *Quirini*[1] had referred his readers to *Pole's* apology to the Emperor, for that long detail of what follows in Mr. *Phillips* about *Machiavel* and *Cromwell*; which *Pole* himſelf had moſtly from a hearſay relation, and in which perhaps he might be impoſed upon: hence that torrent of declamation inſerted for ſeveral pages together, partly from *Quirini*, partly from *Pole* himſelf. Mr. *Phillips*, ſpeaking of *Pole's* writings, pronounces them *the faithful meſſengers of his heart*, and the ſureſt way of *knowing him from himſelf*. Very likely ſo! ~~but not the freer, for that reſpect, from prejudice or malevolence?~~ We ſhall find his writings, ~~for the moſt part, dictated with this ſole view, of blaming out~~ the ſplendour of his own actions; and aggravating the defects, and depreciating the merits, of thoſe he looked upon as his enemies.

We muſt not therefore admit his evidence *in his own cauſe*, abſolutely, and without exception: let him ~~tell his tale, and then, *valeat quantum valere poteſt.*~~ It is hard indeed, if a violent, partial man cannot make a plauſible apology for his own actions, and relate his ſtory in an inſinuating manner. *Pole*, in the place referred

1 *Quirini*, v. 1. p. 263 ---- 267 -- which Mr. *Philips* tranſlated and inſerted, p. 73 ---- 79.

to,

[1] but are they, therefore, free from the
influences of prejudice or malevolence? So far from
it, that [2] were for the most part, dictated with the sole view
[3] of heightening
[3] disliked or

[4] give the best colour he can to his actions; &
let the Reader judge of his merits.

to, by Mr. *Phillips* and his maſter, has dreſs-ed up a figure of *Straw*; and, diſliking the man, miſcalled the phantom *Cromwell*. But notwithſtanding all this vehemence of *Pole*, their Holineſſes of *Rome*, for ſeveral ſuc-ceſſions, thought differently of the evil ten-dency of *Machiavel's* prince, (as is owned both by *Quirini* and *Phillips*) for from *Leo* X, to whoſe nephew, *Laurence de Medicis*, it was dedicated, beſides the two popes here mentioned, all his ſucceſſors to *Clement* 8th permitted the ſale of it throughout *Italy*, whereof there were frequent editions and tranſlations; till at laſt the jeſuit *Poſſevin*, who had never read it, bawled out hereſy, and the inquiſition took it to taſk;[1] which prevailed more to ſilence the bad effects of this writer, than all *Pole's* empty and florid harangues. P. 79. /89

Conſidering *Pole's* bigotted attachment to the Pope's authority, we cannot help ex-preſſing our admiration, that he of all men ſhould venture to differ in opinion from any of their Infallibilities; for *Leo* the 10th, and *Clement* the 7th, both of them pro-tected and promoted *Machiavel:* and one of his reſigned obedience and abſolute ſub-miſſion to their almighty will, muſt allow this as an uncontroverted maxim, *Quod ſummus pontifex, cum totam eccleſiam docet,*

1 *Bayle* dict. article *Machiavel.*

in

in his quæ ad fidem pertinent, nullo caſu errare poteſt.[1] And then, either he or they muſt bear the blame. — But after all, this whole diſcourſe about *Machiavel*, might have been better applied by *Pole* to his brother cardinal *Wolſey*, who, for the moſt part acted more conſiſtently with theſe maxims, and put ſome of them in practice, than to *Cromwell*, who contented himſelf with only commending them, and perhaps did it but to amuſe or laugh at the grave dean of *Exeter*; for he was not ſo adventurous a ſtateſman as the other; neither had he ever that full power over his maſter *Henry*, which *Wolſey*, for many years together, enjoyed.

1 *Bellarmin. de Rom. Pont.* lib. 4. c. 3. Controv. v. 1. p. 962.

Thus have We gone through Mr P first Section, which takes in ye 3 first Chapter's of Quirini's Introduction to ye first Volm. of Pole's Letters, & how closely Mr P has copied or rather transcrib'd from his Original, will better ~~Reference~~ appear from a collation of both ye 2 Writers .

P 11. ye Quotations at ye bottom ye one from Quir. p 219
ye other p 223. n a.
–13 Erasmus's praise of Padua. p 219 n a.
–15 Bembo's character of Leonicus. p 292 n a
–16 Vir optimus, Sanctissimus & Doctissimus. no reference to p. n a
–17 Egregii Literarum Heroes. p 215. no reference to p n a
–17 account of Alciat p 292. n a
–17 account of Bembo p 197 n a
–18 none of Bembo's Letter's remaining p 200. n a
–18 Erasmus's Letters p 201, p 202 . n a
–18 Extracts from them at ye bottom p 393. 394.
–19 Do p 395. n a
–20 Longolius, & ye Extract at ye bottom p 203 n a
–21 Do p 204. Extract at ye bottom p 205 n a
–22 23 Jubilee &c p 227. n a note p 209 n a.
–31 Erasmus's Letter to ye Elector of Mentz p 231 ends at ye word Cornantque n a
32 – Extract at ye bottom p 232 not to Pet. Bembo. but to Paul. Bombasius. Iohes Stocklenus to Quir. blunders ~~and Stockslenu~~ n a

P 42
43
44
44
} Quir. 262,
263
264
265, 6, 7. a

47 Extract from Erasmus. . Quir. p 231. n a
60 Quotation from Larrey. Quir p 240 n a
60 Paris &c Quir p 233 n a
60 Pole's Sentiments 234. a
61 whole. Quir 235 a
62 whole. Quir 237, 238. n a
62 Quotation at y bottom. Quir 237. badly translated n a
64 Duke of Norfolk's &c Quir p 257. n a
67 Note at Burnet. Quir p 269 n a
67 two Quotations at y bottom. Q p 262 n a
71 Reference to y book de Unit Eccle. Q p 240. n a
71, 72 Note at Burnet Q 243, 244. y latter part Q p 249 n
73-74 Section 27. apch ad Imp. referred to. Q p 263, 264 a
79 Matthaeus Q p 266. 267. n a
80 extract from Erasmus. Q p 271. no reference in Quir. n a

ANIMADVERSIONS

ON

SECTION THE SECOND.

IT is very fortunate for the pretenders to literary merit, when they can ſkilfully apply, to their own advantage, the labours of others who have employed their time and abilities in purſuit of the ſame plan of ſtudies. I cannot therefore but congratulate the ingenious and diligent Mr. *Phillips*, for the admirable uſe he has made of ſuch friendly aſſiſtances. The foreign writers of the life of *Pole*, had only their own materials to work up, and have given us little more than a bare narration of facts: but happily! the *Engliſh* compiler, *of the hiſtory of his life*, found every thing ready to his hands. He muſt have taken it for granted, his authorities had not been heard of, or could not be met with, or would not be enquired after. He might therefore ſafely venture to flouriſh away upon his borrowed, or rather ſtolen, ſtock of knowledge;

ledge; and arrogate to himself the reputation of an able, and original writer. [1]

We have already detected him, in many instances, of gross and impudent plagiarism: we now repeat the charge; and afresh accuse him of the same illiberal and disingenuous behaviour, in not acknowledging the source of all his materials.

1 How free and lax a translator Mr. *Phillips* is, the reader may judge by comparing the references he has vouchsafed to give in his notes, with the passages in the text. The very first reference is a glaring instance of the liberty he too often takes. He tells us, that *on Pole's arrival at* Avignon, *the sepulchre of Laura, . . . was discovered. The inhabitants congratulated themselves on this incident, no less than the Sicilians had done on the discovery of Archimedes's tomb, the memory of which they had lost; and paid the person, who discovered it almost the same honours the latter had conferred on Cicero, for the like benefit.* Referring, ✱ the note, to *Bembi.* Ep. L. 6, *&c. Quirini* informs us of two of *Bembo's* letters to *Castellanus*, in one of which that learned man speaks very handsomely of *Pole*; and then adds, from another, the cited passage translated as above. *Altera autem (Epistola sc. Bembi) Castellano gratulatur conquisitum nuper, & repertum Lauræ sepulchrum, a Nicolao Perusino, qui ea in re non minorem consecutus sit laudem, quam olim Cicero apud Siculos ex invento Archimedis tumulo, cujus illi memoriam amiserant: non ita vero gratulatur Versiculos quosdam Vernaculos . . . in eo sepulchro inventos, quos ait non modo longissime abesse a Petrarchæ mirifico, ac prope divino ingenio, sed ne mediocris quidem ullius poetæ aut stylum, aut eruditionem sapere. Quirini*, v. 1. p. 274.

P. 81. 191

192. 119

Mr. *Phillips*, p. 82, has rendered *Biturigas, Beziers*: he had before, p. 17, rightly translated it *Bourges*. He also, p. 98, speaks of a letter from *Bunet* to *Selva*: whereas *Quirini* frequently mentions that critic's name, and uniformly calls him *Bunellus*. ✱

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‡ I must, however, do Mr P. this justice, and say that in his second Edition, he has corrected, upon better information from his Reverend Censors, this mistake.

hath found its

Balk

Unluckily for his credit, *Quirini's* edition of *Pole's* letters, contrary to his hopes and expectations, ~~[illegible]~~ way into *England*; to whoſe preliminary diſcourſes, had Mr. *Phillips* referred where he ought, how little would be left that could be called his own! Where *Quirini* drops the hiſtory, our author is then obliged to beat out elſewhere for matter to enlarge his book, and to aſſociate to himſelf ſome other authority. As the cardinal did not purſue the buſineſs of *Henry's* divorce, which was again renewed after *Pole* left *England*, our hiſtorian has condeſcended to adopt *Le-Grand's* account of it. By the help of theſe two ſupporters, he was enabled to go on briſkly: the *firſt thirty pages* of this ſection, except a few ſentences here and there added, to ~~dodge~~ the ſcent, and tack his intelligence together, being literally tranſlated from them. An eaſy and compendious way this of becoming an author! *But*, to uſe his own words on another occaſion, *he does them an injury not to acknowledge* what he relates, *to be theirs*, whilſt he ſtudiouſly conceals the juſt property they have, in what is ſo ſhamefully pillaged from them.

Pt. 2d. P. 142. / v. 2. p 196

The former part of this ſection, as it reſpects *Pole's* foreign connections, and reſidence at *Avignon* and *Padua*, may ſtand uncorrected. We ſhall make no further obſervations on it, than only to reſtore it to its

its own author; and to refer the reader for the contents of it from page 86 to page 102, to *Quirini's* introduction to the first volume of *Pole's* letters from page 274 to page 300. Mr. *Phillips* does indeed, in the course of these pages, cite some of *Pole's* letters, and a few other authorities, as vouchers of his history: but then they are the very same references, which *Quirini*, in his illustration of the letters, had selected for him; and which he, to blind his readers, vouchsafeth sometimes to quote.

The illustrious *Sadolet* bearing so considerable a share in the correspondence of *Pole*, we cannot entirely pass him by, without gladly paying that regard to him, which is due to the memory of superiour virtue and ability. *Sadolet*, though secretary to a Pope, was yet remarkable for candour and moderation, and for an affection to learned persons, tho' they were sometimes engaged in defending religious principles different from his own. He had a very high regard for *Sturmius*, *Bucer* and *Melanchton*.[1] *Seckendorf* hath preserved a valuable letter of his addressed to *Melanchton*,

1 In a letter to *Sturmius*, dated 1539, he thus expresseth himself, *Palam, cum facultas datur, soleo & commemorare & loqui, me tibi & Melanchtoni & Bucero, hominibus doctissimis, plane benevolum & ex animo fautorem esse.*

Cited by *Seckendorf*, hist. *Luth.* L. 1. p. 43.

which

/ or as in the later Edition from Page
92 to page 154

/ for the Truth

/ those very

which ſhews the goodneſs of his heart, and the ſweetneſs of his temper. It is a letter expreſſive of the higheſt eſteem of that excellent reformer and his writings: in it he acquaints him with his promotion to the purple, and begs to be admitted into his friendſhip; telling him, he was not ſuch a bigot, as to hate thoſe who differed from him, but that the eſteem he bore to learning and worth was ſuch, that he had already no inconſiderable ſhare of his affection; and hoped, the diſtance of their abode would not prevent an union of their ſouls.[1]

1 This letter of *Sadolet* is dated in 1537, and is addreſſed to *Melanchton*, *Dilectiſſimo tanquam fratri:* ---- *Accidebat mihi . . . ut aliquid nanciſcerer de ſcriptis tuis, quæ ego & propter excellens ingenium tuum, & propter elegantiam ſtyli & orationis, libentiſſime legere ſolebam. Id cum ſæpius facerem, magnaque in legendo delectatione adficerer, ſenſi paulatim mihi incendi animum ad quandam benevolentiam nominis tui, uſque eo quidem, ut miro quodam ſtudio tecum ineundæ amicitiæ tenerer. Non enim is ſum, qui ut quiſque opinione a nobis diſſentit, ſtatim eum odio habeam. . . . Faveo ingeniis, virtutes hominum colo, ſtudia literarum diligo, in quibus tu, ut doctrinæ & ingenii, ſic amoris mei non mediocres partes poſſides. Nec dubito, quin tu eadem mente & voluntate ſis præditus. Iſti enim animo, qui tam liberaliter artibus ingenuis expolitus ſit, nihil agreſte atque aſperum, ineſſe poteſt, quo etiam majorem mihi ſpem virtus tua facit, meas hoc apud te literas ponderis habituras, ut qui locorum ſpatiis disjuncti ſumus, animis tamen & benevolentia conjungamur, quod ego maxime aveo atque expeto.*

Seckendorf ibid. ſee alſo, B. 3. p. 244: and his chriſtian candour and charity to the *Vaudois* is celebrated by *Thuanus*, B. 6. A. D. 1550.

This Letter is to be met with in the London Edit. of Melanchthon, & Vives's Epſtles, 1642. Lib: 3. p 519.

How amiable is ſuch a ſpirit! how dear muſt it render him to every lover of learning and candour! Honeſt and moderate men muſt admire him, and no adverſary could be ſo ungenerous as to hate, or revile him. Of all the friends of *Pole*, there was none whoſe acquaintance did him ſo much honour, as his intimacy with the truly reſpectable *Sadolet:* and had he but cultivated the ſame freedom of thinking and writing, his own character might have equalled that of his friend the biſhop of *Carpentras*.

After our hiſtorian's account of *Pole*'s literary engagements abroad, we are called off from attending his hero, to hear his own concluding relation *of the affair of the divorce*. *Quirini* being ſilent about this, Mr. *Phillips* was at a loſs where to meet with an impartial and fair detail of that buſineſs. To ſearch into records, or to give us his own opinion, would be a work of time and pains: he pitched therefore upon that forgotten author Monſr. *Le-Grand*, deeming that a tranſcript from thence might be made with leſs hazard of diſcovery, than from more approved writers. Though our author is as much obliged to *Le-Grand* for the following pages of his hiſtory relating to the divorce, as he was to *Quirini* for his former intelligence; yet except a trifling appeal, at his entrance, to an inſignificant minute in one of *Caſſali's* and *Rance's* letters,

P. 102. / 105

From 102 — 111. / 115 — 125

1st ought
1st and then he would
not have been so eager in adopting the
1st of

ters, in the 3d volume of *Le-Grand's* hiſtory, no notice at all is taken of his guide and director. The firſt vol. of *Le-Grand* contains the hiſtory or narration of the divorce: in the 3d volume are inſerted the proofs, amongſt which there are ſeveral very valuable records, which biſhop *Burnet* hath made good uſe of in his 3d volume of the hiſtory of the reformation; and hath honeſtly referred his readers to *Le-Grand* upon every occaſion, by a particular acknowledgment of thoſe materials he ſelected from thence to illuſtrate his hiſtory. As a relator of facts, ~~it would have done~~ Mr. *Phillips* ~~no harm,~~ to have conſidered theſe records of the laſt volume, ~~rather than to have curtailed his~~ partial narration of the firſt. But however, even by this account, we learn, that the Pope ſtill acted in his former ſhuffling, prevaricating manner: and the ſeveral diſpatches referred to by his author, are ample teſtimonies of his Holineſs's diſtreſsful ſtate; who was urged, on the one hand, by the Emperor and the cardinals of his faction to declare againſt *Henry*; and, on the other, was moved by the repreſentation of the King of *France* and his agents, of the danger of an haſty determination of *Henry's* cauſe. Neither was the King of *England* wanting in his own behalf. He wrote to the Pope, and inſiſted

upon its being determined in *England*;[1] and, as Mr. *Phillips*, or rather *Le-Grand*,[2] says, tried *to prevail on the queen to desist from her appeal to Rome*. But she was resolutely bent to have his Holiness's decision; and, as if she was determined to exasperate her husband to the uttermost, she applied in most pressing terms to the Pope; and procured a *Breve* from him to prohibit the King's marrying another wife, and to charge him to live with the queen as formerly; and in case he refused, the whole kingdom was threatened with an interdict.[3]

P. 102. / 116

Upon this, the King was cited to *Rome*: but by his ambassador and excusator *Carne* he protested against this step, because the Emperor's power was so great at *Rome*, and he himself was a sovereign Prince, and the church of *England* a free church over which the Pope had no just authority.[4] He had some time before issued out a proclamation, forbidding the receiving or publishing any bulls from *Rome* prejudicial to his royal prerogative; and his parliament had con-

v. 2.

1 *Burnet*, ~~3 v. Ref.~~ p. 67. Records, p. 372.

2 *Le-Grand* hist. du divorce, v. 1. p. 218.

v. 3. 3 *Burnet*, ~~3 v. Ref.~~ p. 57. *Le-Grand*, v. 3. p. 446. There was afterwards another to the same purpose. *Burnet*, v. 3. ~~Ref.~~ p. 68. *Le-Grand*, v. 3. p. 531.

v. 1 4 *Burnet*, ~~1 v. Ref.~~ p. 126. ibid. 3d v. Ref. p. 68. *Herbert*, p. 364.

5 Burnet, v. 1. p 105. 130 curred

6 Carte, v. 3. p. 111.

for

for that was the Member's name,

curred with him, in applying to the Pope for a ſpeedy determination of this great matter. And the members of both houſes ſhewed themſelves very forward in reſtraining the papal authority, and ſupporting their ſovereign with great ſpirit and unanimity in the meaſures he took entirely to annul it. The convocation had acknowledged him ſupreme head of the church of *England*. The deciſions of the univerſities were laid before the parliament, which excited their reſentment againſt the Pope, and their deteſtation of the King's marriage.[2] *One of the members* did indeed ſpeak *againſt the divorce in the houſe of commons, and moved that the King might be entreated to cohabit with the queen.* But whilſt Mr. *Phillips* was mentioning this, and the notice the King himſelf took of Mr. *Teemſe's* ſpeech, he ſhould not have ſuppreſſed the moſt material part of his Majeſty's diſcourſe with the ſpeaker; in which, beſides what our author hath thought proper to give us, he told him that the houſe might better underſtand his true reaſons, he had informed himſelf in all parts of chriſtendom, concerning ſtrange marriages; and that ſaving in *Spain* and *Portugal*, he could never find that any man had ſo much as married

P. 104. 107.

1 *Herbert*, p. 330, 331. *Carte*, v. 3. p. 101. and 107.

2 Burnet, v. 1. p 105, 106. "two

two ſiſters, if the firſt were carnally known. But for the brother to marry the brother's wife was ſo abhorred amongſt all nations, that he never heard any chriſtian ſo did, but himſelf, and therefore wiſhed them to believe that his conſcience was troubled.[1]"

But why was this omitted? certainly for this reaſon, leſt it might leave an impreſſion in *Henry's* favour. *Le Grand* who had as little good will for the King, as Mr. *Phillips* can poſſibly have; yet acted more fairly, and has honeſtly related the whole ſpeech.[2] After this, there was the utmoſt harmony between the King and his parliament: and the houſe, at his requeſt, undertook to conſider how far the oath, which the clergy made to the Pope, was derogatory to that of their fidelity to him. This occaſioned the final renouncing of the Pope's authority, not long after.[3]

During the receſs of this parliament, we are told by *Le-Grand*[4] and his tranſlator, that *the King now cauſed a ſtrict inquiry to be made into Hereſy, in which the biſhops ſeconded his capricious and ſanguinary inclinations, with all the rigour of a Spaniſh inquiſition.* The concluſion of the parliament,

P. 104. 1188

1 *Herbert*, p. 363. *Burnet*, v. I. vol. Rec. p. 122.
2 *Le-Grand*, v. I. p. 223.
3 *Herbert*, p. 363. *Burnet*, v. I. vol. Rec. p. 123.
4 *Le-Grand*, v. I. p. 224.

and

1 Renunciation

and the reſignation of the Great Seal by Sir *Thomas More*, being mentioned by them both at the end of their laſt paragraph, might induce the reader to think, that this *inquiry into hereſy*, was poſterior to theſe two events: whereas the contrary is the truth; and neither of theſe writers have ſtrictly attended to the order of time, in their account of many of the tranſactions which they relate. This inquiry, here hinted at, was made long before the end of that Seſſions, or Sir *Thomas's* giving up the ſeals. And the particular inſtances of this eccleſiaſtical ſeverity, tho' ſpecified by *Le-Grand*,[1] are yet taken no notice of by Mr. *Phillips*. I preſume, he was conſcious, the dwelling upon them would tend to the diſhonour of ſome of the greateſt men of his own communion.

The ſufferers named by *Le-Grand* are *Bilney*, *Biſield*, *Tewkſbury*, and *Bainham*: and the proceedings, carried on againſt them, were exerciſed, we freely grant, *with all the rigour of a Spaniſh inquiſition*. But who were theſe *ſanguinary* inquiſitors? Biſhop *Stokeſley* of *London*,[2] and Sir *Thomas*

1 *Le Meme*, p. 225.

2 The ſame perſon whom Mr. *Phillips*, (following *Quirini's* or his printer's blunder,) in the note of p. 32, 36. called *John Stockter*; who is mentioned by *Eraſmus*, (from one of whoſe epiſtles the note is quoted) as one of the illuſtrious ornaments of *Henry's* court; and who, he ſays,

More the chancellor himſelf; the latter of whom, as appears by the inſcription which he compoſed in the height of his proſperity, and ordered to be placed on his monument, gloried in nothing ſo much as his hatred to all thoſe, whom he was pleaſed to brand with the appellation of heretics. We are told, indeed, that *his prudence, underſtanding, and temper, ſeemed to vie with each other, and could be ſurpaſſed by nothing but a diſintereſtedneſs, probity, and ſenſe of religion, which rendered the man, the magiſtrate, and the chriſtian compleat.* But ſurely he did not exemplify any part of this amiable character, when he condeſcended to turn inquiſitor and perſecutor; when he ſo far forgot the regard he owed to truth and his own honour, that not content with ſending out a writ for the burning of *Bilney*, he could publickly declare to the world, [1] that he had abjured his tenets before his execution. A calumny this, which was ſo far from having any evidence in its ſupport, that the abſolute falſhood of it was teſtified by many witneſſes, [2] whoſe vera-

ſays, was one of his chaplains, *a ſacris*, which Mr. *Phillips*, by a bold periphraſis, rendereth, *is clerk of the cloſet.*

1 In the preface to one of his books againſt *Tindal.*

2 *Fox*, v. 2. p. 272.

2 *Fox*, v. 2. p. 275. *& ſeq. Burnet*, v. 1. p. 163. *Strype*, Mem. p. 201. of his Life of Parker, p. 6.

city

in

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† This curious mistake of John Stockler for John Stokesley, Mr P. has since condescended to correct; and by an awkward unmeaning apology hath endeavour'd to palm his ignorance or his inattention, upon (what he is pleased to ~~call~~ term) the best Editions of Erasmus which do indeed, but - by an plainly Error of the Press call him Stocklerus. ~~Such is this~~ feint to divert the Reader from attending to the real Source of the Blunder, originated from the mistake in Lilius, the Author of all his Geographical Knowledge, where the name is this mis-printed Ioannes Stokterus.

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* See more about him in Strype's Mem:
v. 3. p [236]

city is unqueſtionable. He aſſerted the like of *Biſield* alſo, with as much malevolence, and as little truth. [1]

Tewkſbury, the 3d perſon mentioned by *Le-Grand*, was tried and condemned by biſhop *Stokeſley*, and by Sir *Thomas More*, at his houſe at *Chelſea*; and carried directly from thence to the ſtake. But in his treatment of *Bainham*, the chancellor exerciſed his cruelty to an horrid exceſs. He impriſoned him in his own houſe; and to make him diſcover and inform againſt his heretical acquaintance, he ordered him to be whipped at a tree in his garden; and then ſent him to the tower, where he ſtood by, and ſaw him put to the rack. [2] The biſhop and the chancellor, we ſuppoſe, *conſidered hereſy not only as a grievous ſin againſt almighty God, but as a heinous crime againſt the ſtate.* This made them ſo zealous to extirpate ſuch dangerous opinions. Pt. 2d. p. 166. / v. 2. p. 225

As the divorce was ſtill depending at the court of *Rome*, the chancellor ſuggeſted to the King, that the Pope would be more wrought upon by his ſupporting the church, and defending the faith, than by threatenings. [3] The perſecution therefore that was carried on, was owing entirely to *More's*

1 *Fox*, v. 2. p. 294.
v. 2. 2 *Fox*, ~~2 vol.~~ p. 297. *Burnet*, v. 1. p. 165. ††
3 *Burnet*, ~~hiſt. Ref. 1 vol.~~ p. 159. v. 1.

inſti-

inſtigation. It was begun in 1531, when he was in the height of his power: and the above mentioned ſufferers were executed that year. Some few proceſſes indeed we meet with both before and after this time; but the violence of the ſtorm was felt moſt ſeverely then, but not every where alike. The rigour of it was confined almoſt wholly to the dioceſe of *London*; where the biſhop, who had much more learning than humanity, was remarkably active in diſplaying his religious fury: in which he was, no doubt, greatly encouraged and ſupported, by the countenance of Sir *Thomas More*'s authority; who frequently was preſent at the biſhop's examination of heretics, and aſſiſted him in that godly work. And how much his influence contributed to theſe proſecutions is evident from hence, that with the decline of his power, the *ſtrict inquiry into hereſy* ſubſided too: and we hear of but few condemnations for ſome time, after *More* himſelf had felt the bitter ſeverity of the law. As he had ſo great an hand in this inquiſitorial inquiry, we are not ſurpriſed, that Mr. *Phillips* ſhould ſo lightly ſkip over theſe rigorous proceedings. He hath expreſſed himſelf in ſo guarded a manner, that it is hard to judge from his narration, whether the perſecution was levelled againſt the promoters of the new, or the defenders of the old tenets.

It,

yet

so that

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newly

tenets. He has given us, becauſe *Le-Grand* did,[1] a trifling inſtance of trouble upon each account; wherein the King's ſupremacy only was concerned, which being juſt declared and recogniſed by the parliament, the prieſt, who maintained the Pope's title to it, might reaſonably expect to be impriſoned for oppoſing the laws of the land: and the heretic, who appealed to the King, was well adviſed to claim the benefit of this act, to give his ſovereign an opportunity of exerciſing his acknowledged juriſdiction. P. 104.

Whilſt *Stokeſley* and *More* were thus buſily employed in defending the doctrine of the church, the buſineſs of the divorce was managed at *Rome* with all the accuſtomed delays of the timid pontiff; till *Henry*, ſatisfied in his own mind of the unlawfulneſs of his marriage, offended at the indignity offered to his perſon in being cited to *Rome*, wearied with this impolitic treatment, and finding the generality of his ſubjects had adopted his ſentiments, *cut at once, the knot*, as Mr. *Phillips* ſays, *which he had ſo long, in vain, endeavoured to untie, and married Mrs Anne Bullen as ſoon as he returned from France*. *John Stowe* tells us, "the King returning to *England*, landed at *Dover* the 14th of *November* 1532."[2] P. 107.

1 *Le-Grand*, 1 v. p. 225.
2 *Stowe's* annals, p. 562.

But

But as the marriage was not publickly declared till the *April* following, it is impoſſible to fix the determinate day. *Sanders* [1] and *Campion*, [2] whoſe authority muſt be of great weight with Mr. *Phillips*, have with many other hiſtorians fixed the day of this marriage upon the 14 of *November*. *John Stowe* and ſome others tell us, it was deferred to the *January* following. [3] As the divorce was undecided, there is great probability in that conjecture of biſhop *Burnet*, "that the day of marriage was given out wrong on deſign. And in a matter that was ſo ſecretly managed, it was no hard thing, to oblige thoſe who were in the ſecret to ſilence." [4]

P. 107. The pleaſant tale Mr. *Phillips* has amuſed us with, concerning the ſcruples of Dr. *Lee* who performed the ceremony, though here tranſlated from *Le-Grand*, [5] is originally derived from no other authority than the fiction

1 *Ad decimum vero & octavum calendas Decembris, . . . Rex longioris moræ impatiens, . . . omnino conſtituit cum Anna Bolena, nuptias contrahere.*

Sanders de ſchiſm. Ang. L. 1. p. 83.

2 *Rex Annam Boleniam ducit clanculum menſe Novembri, ita ut nemo fere perſentiſceret, priuſquam ad Aprilem proximum gravida notaretur.*

Edm. Campian. de divortio Hen. 8. p. 178. *Inter opuſcula.*

3 Annals, p. 562.

4 *Burnet*, v. 3. ~~Ref.~~ p. 70, 71.

5 *Le-Grand*, v. 1. p. 237, 238.

of

which

of lying *Sanders*.[1] It is ſcarce probable that *Pole*, who collected every thing that could defame the King and his new queen, would have omitted it in his ſcurrilous invectives againſt them, had there been the leaſt foundation for ſuch a report. *Le-Grand* indeed, in another place, endeavours to ſupport it, by the convincing authority of a nameleſs MS;[2] the writer of which might perhaps owe all his knowledge either to *Sanders*, or to an authority of no better credit. But the ſtory lying in Mr. *Phillips's* way, he thought it told well, and did not care to drop it.

Henry having taken this ſtep, which was intended as a publick defiance of the pope, and an inſult upon *that tribunal* which had arbitrarily arrogated to itſelf *the deciſion of cauſes of ſuch importance*, did not ſtop here. Perceiving the good diſpoſition of his ſubjects, he proceeded to eaſe them of the many exorbitant encroachments of papal power, upon their Liberties, as well as his own prerogative. *At the next meeting of the parliament a law paſſed, by which all appeals to the See of Rome were prohibited.* And high time it was, that ſuch a law as this ſhould be enacted; for the grievances, which it was calculated to redreſs, had been

P. 59./66

P. 107./121

1 *Sanders de Schiſmate, &c.* L. 1. p. 83.
2 *Le-Grand*, v. 2. Defenſe de *Sanderus*, p. 109.

long

long and loudly complained of: for theſe appeals to the Pope were neither more nor leſs, than the effect of a mere uſurpation on his part, and of illegal acts in the ſubjects. And the order of the proceſs ſettled by this bill was agreeable to the ancient conſtitution of the kingdom; They owed their riſe to that ſeparation, which *William* the conqueror made between the civil and eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction. Before that time, the Pope was not conſidered at all in *England*; and all eccleſiaſtical caſes were determined at home, without his interpoſition. But by this ſeparation, the Pope, who before was ſubject to the canons of the church, began to be above them. Hence was laid the foundation of thoſe appeals, which were never allowed, without much ſtruggling and reluctance, by the civil power; and which, by the continual conteſts they occaſioned, proved very detrimental to the kingdom.

The firſt who judicially, and under the form of authority, introduced them in *England* (tho' there had been a prior attempt or two before) was that turbulent and haughty prelate *Henry de Blois* biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and the Pope's legate, in the unſettled reign of King *Stephen*; [1] who being, as legate,

1 *In Anglia appellationes in uſu non erant, donec eas Henricus Wintonienſis, dum legatus eſſet, malo ſuo crudeliter intruſit.*

Hen. Huntingdon, A°. 16. *Steph.* L. 8. p. 226. ed. *Savil.*

ſupe-

[1] submission

[2] for the Law of England was always a Barrier against the whole System of the Papal Power.

[3] became actually above them. At this time

1

1 at home in

1 as little

1 2 as the other proceedings of the Court of Rome, which were preparatory to it. It was, moreover, set at nought & derided

ſuperior to his metropolitan, took this ſtep, to leſſen the juriſdiction of the See of *Canterbury*; and firſt taking cognizance of theſe appeals himſelf, they naturally and of courſe came to be determined in the *Roman* conſiſtory: whereas before they were uſually made to the primate, and determined by a council called by him. — But they were not long tamely permitted: and upon *Henry* the ſecond's putting a ſtop to them by the 8th conſtitution of the council of *Clarendon*, they remained ever after prohibited by law; and ſubſiſted only by the connivance of the crown, though complained of from time to time by the commons in parliament.

This ſtatute therefore providing againſt them by ſevere penalties, was only an affirmance of the common law; though neceſſary in equity, to give notice to all perſons, that the breach thereof would not be connived at for the future.[1] This occaſioned *Henry* and his Holineſs to fulminate againſt each other. But the *Vatican* thunder now rolled in vain: *it made no impreſſion on Henry*, and by his ſubjects. The biſhop of *Rome's* authority was abſolutely *diſclaimed*. His decree P. 109.

1 See *Carte*, v. 1. p. 442, 443, and 551. and v. 3. p. 118. from whence this account of theſe appeals is taken.

againſt

againſt the divorce, and in confirmation of the validity of *Catherine's* marriage, was deſpiſed and trampled under foot. The King perſiſted to cohabit with his new wife; and the nation acknowledged her for their queen. The juriſdiction and decrees of the Pope were renounced; the King declared the ſupreme head of the church: and the people readily profeſſed obedience to all the laws for extinguiſhing the papal power.

P. 111. 125 *In this manner*, ſays our author, *the ſpiritual ſupremacy was conferred on the King and his ſucceſſors*. He had before told us, P. 70. 78 of *the novelty of the claim, and its repugnance to the ſenſe of all antiquity*; and peremptorily aſſerted, that *Henry*, by this uP. 71. 79 ſurped a power *of laying waſte that fair edifice*, the Pope's ſupremacy, *which, like all others throughout the Chriſtian world, had* St. Mat. ch. 16. *been founded by the divine lawgiver, on the pre-eminence of that See, and had reſted on it, in this kingdom, ſince its firſt eſtabliſhment, during* 900 *years*. A ſmall knowledge in the *Engliſh* hiſtory would have made Mr. *Phillips* leſs poſitive in his aſſertions. *The renouncing the Pope's ſupremacy*, he reP. 112. 127 preſents, as *ſeparating from the catholic church*. But what if this papal ſupremacy was never legally allowed? what if its pretenſions, in whole or in part, were ever reſiſted? Did any of the *Saxon* Kings, tho' in-

^what is commonly, tho' falsly, called

^more

^than

indebted to a miſſionary from the Pope, for their converſion to chriſtianity, make any ſolemn or formal acknowledgment of their ſubmiſſion to the biſhop of *Rome*? Where was hid this authority, when *Dionoth*, the abbot of *Bangor*, told *Auguſtine* the monk (whoſe errand was as much to make converts to the church of *Rome*, as the church of Chriſt) that he knew no obedience due to him, whom they called the Pope, but the obedience of love; and, that under God they were to be governed by the biſhop of *Caerleon*?[1] What then did *Henry* do more, than what moſt of his predeceſſors had done before him?

The firſt appeal upon record to the Pope, before the conqueſt, was made by *Wilfrid* Arch-Bp of *York*, whoſe remonſtrances, againſt ſome regulations made both by civil and eccleſiaſtical authority, not being attended to; he denounced publickly, that he appealed for redreſs, to the See of *Rome*. "This," ſays *Carte*, "appeared ſo new and "ſingular to the audience, that it occaſion-

1 *Spelman.* conc. A. D. 601. cited by Arch-biſhop *Bramhall*; who adds, that as this conference, between *Dionoth* and *Auguſtine*, was held in the very beginning of the 7th century, it is a demonſtrative convincing proof that no ſuch claim had been heard of, or acknowledged, at that time.

Bramhall's vindication of the church of *England*, p. 84. Fol.

ed a general laughter, as a thing ite ridiculous." [1] And though the Pope decreed in his favour, yet *Alfrid* the King would not reſtore to him his preferments, declaring that "what the Kings his predeceſſors with their council had determined, and what had been afterwards adjudged by the arch-biſhop and all the biſhops of *England*, he was reſolved not to change, for any papal letter or reſcript whatever." [2]

Afterwards, altho' *William* the conqueror, at his acceſſion to the crown, paid a little court to his Holineſs; yet no ſooner was he firmly ſeated, than he ſtrenuouſly aſſerted the independency of his crown: and when the Pope admoniſhed him by his legate of the homage due to his See, he peremptorily refuſed it, ſaying, *fidelitatem facere nolui, nec volo; quia nec ego promiſi, nec anteceſſores meos anteceſſoribus tuis id feciſſe comperio.* [3] So little regard did he pay to the Pope's authority, that he would not even ſuffer his ſubjects to acknowledge any one for Pope, without his orders; [4] or permit his primate to paſs any ſynodical canons, but what were agreeable to his will,

1 *Carte*, p. 250.

2 Ibid. p. 257.

3 See his epiſtle to the Pope in *Selden's* Notes to *Eadmerus*, p. 164.

4 *Eadmerus*, p. 6. not. p. 163.

and

and firſt approved, or ordered by himſelf.[1] Neither would he ſuffer the biſhops to excommunicate any of his barons or officers.[2]

His ſon *William Rufus* exerted the ſame ſpirit: and when arch-biſhop *Anſelm* aſked leave of him to go to *Rome* for his pall, he refuſed his requeſt, as being "contrary to "his own prerogative, to the laws of the "land, and to the rights of the church of "*England*;" alleging "that it had not been "the cuſtom either in his father's time or "his own, for any body in *England* to acknowledge a Pope without the King's "licenſe or approbation."[3] When *Hilary* biſhop of *Chicheſter*, in *Henry* the ſecond's time, "was exalting the papal authority, and "affirmed that no layman, not even the King "himſelf, could give any eccleſiaſtical dignities or privileges to a church, without the "Pope's allowance and confirmation;" the King in great wrath interrupted him, and told him "the Pope owed his power to "the grant of men, but the royal authority "was derived from God; — that he ſhould "apply to the great council there aſſembled "for doing him juſtice on a man, who had "thus attacked the ancient liberties of the "crown, &c. The whole audience aſſented "to what the King ſaid, and was moved

v. 2. p 135.

1 Ibid. not. p. 165.
2 Ibid. not. p. 168.
3 *Carte*, [illegible] p. 472. *v. J.*

with indignation againſt the biſhop; chancellor *Becket* reproved him for his preſumption." [1]

In a parliament held at *Carliſle* under *Edward* the firſt, in 1307, ſuch a law was paſſed, which, if well executed, would have put an end to all the extorted juriſdiction of the court of *Rome:* for it was expreſſly declared, "that the church of *England* was founded in the eſtate of prelacy, by the King and peers thereof, and that the ſeveral incroachments of the biſhop of *Rome*, did tend to the annullation of the ſtate of the church, the deſheriting of the King and the peers, and the deſtruction of the laws and rights of the realm, contrary to the diſpoſition and will of the firſt founders." [2] In the reign of *Edward* the 3d, and *Henry* the 4th, the judges declared the Pope's excommunication contrary to law. [3] *Edward* the 3d revived the ſtatutes of præmunire, and of proviſors, to prevent the Pope's intermeddling, either in the diſpoſal of benefices, or the hearing of eccleſiaſtical cauſes. [4] Under *Richard* the 2d, the parliament made ſtill ſtronger efforts, to curb this foreign encroaching ju-

1 *Carte*, v. 1. p. 584.

2 35 E. 1. Statute of *Carliſle*.

3 *Fidelis Servi, ſubdito infideli reſponſio*, by Dr. *Clerk*, p. 51.

4 *Rapin*, v. 1. p. 478. 27 E. 3. c. 1.

riſdiction

land

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† Lord Lyttleton's History of ye Life of Henry II. v. 2. p 195.

riſdiction. "They made it death for any man to bring or ſend any bull or proceſs from *Rome*; and that whoever procured or executed any ſentence from *Rome* ſhould loſe all that he had, and be impriſoned for life. And they alſo offered to defend the King againſt the Pope; declaring the crown of *England* was not ſubject to him, but to God only; adding, that it had been ſo free at all times, that it hath been in no earthly ſubjection."[1]

Theſe are inſtances, ſufficient enough to prove, how much the nation was ever upon its guard to check the growth of the papal ſupremacy, and to prevent its taking ſuch root as thoroughly to be eſtabliſhed: tho' under weak, or very ambitious princes, or when civil commotions ran high, the encroachments of the papacy were connived at, and ſometimes appealed to, by thoſe who either feared a rupture with that formidable power, or found it neceſſary to ſtrengthen their intereſt by its friendſhip and ſupport. *Henry* therefore, when he utterly aboliſhed this aſſumed ſupremacy, was ſo far from being guilty of what Mr. *Phillips* arrogantly termeth an *amazing innovation*, that he really did no more, than add life and ſpirit to thoſe laws, which the wiſdom of his anceſtors had indeed enact- P. 111. /127

[1] 16 *R.* 2. c. 5.

ed;

ed; but which, though they generally lay dormant, when the royal prerogative was not exerted; yet were they ſtill known to be in full force, and, being exerciſed from time to time, in certain inſtances; the nation, groaning under the inſupportable burthen of an infinity of papal exactions, and, in a manner, impoveriſhed by them, was well enough prepared to receive the revival of the regal ſupremacy.[1]

Mr. *Phillips*, by the help of a citation from *Henry's* book againſt *Luther*, (which he found in a note in the church hiſtorian of his own communion, and hath put into modern language) hath, with Mr. *Dod*,[2] repreſented the clergy of thoſe times, as charging the King with *inconſiſtency*, and acting contrary to his *ſolemn declarations* in that book. *Henry's* opinion, in this point, was certainly altered: he had, ſince that time, got better knowledge of the Popes themſelves. They had amuſed and deceived him ſo much, that his good opinion of them and their courts was greatly abated. He might reaſonably conjecture, power, thus abuſed, could not be of divine right; and that the Popes, in the exerciſe of it, did frequently determine not according to con-

P. 111.

1 *Carte*, 3 v. p. 129.

2 *Dod's* church hiſtory, p. 99.

ſcience,

† Nay "from the first planting of Christianity
" amongst the English till this time, there is not so
" much as one Canon that reserves any one Case to the
" judgement of the Bishops of Rome, or so much as takes
" notice of any Authority they had over the English
" Church, but, on the contrary, the constant conduct
" of the English Bishops was such as shews, that they
" ever esteemed the English a free & independent
" Church, & under no obligations to the Bishops of Rome,
" but such as gratitude, affection, & an opinion of the
" wisdom & holiness of those Prelates laid upon them."

† Inett's Hist. of ye English Church p 255. c 16. as cited in Lord Lyttleton's Hist: of Henry II, vol. p, 462. Notes. Where are further Observations on ye Independency of our Church in its earliest times, proving that it was ~~not, in any degree, ever subjected to the Authority of Rome.~~ by its original Constitution, independant of any foreign Jurisdiction whatsoever.

which had been too tamely sub-
-mitted to;

ſcience, but the dictates of a prevailing Party. It was this groſs behaviour of the Pope, which occaſioned the inquiry into the riſe of his power, and how far he could diſpenſe with the laws of God. The ſpirit of the reformers had already taught men to deſpiſe his menaces: and when they began in earneſt to examine the foundation of ſuch high pretenſions, they ſoon found them to be againſt the word of God, and the conſent of earlieſt antiquity; that they were only the acts of uſurpation ~~and ſufferance,~~ for that every prince in his own dominions was ſovereign and ſupreme head of all his ſubjects, without diſtinction or exception. When therefore the breach was made between *Henry* and the Pope, his intereſt and his people's being the ſame, the King no longer delayed to free himſelf, and them, from the burthen of that yoke, which they, as well as their fore-fathers, found too heavy for them; and thereby providentially became an inſtrument of promoting the reformation, without intending it.

The *Gallican* church had always preſerved its liberties, exempt from the encroachments of any foreign intruder. But with regard to *England*, we have it hinted, "that it might perhaps be looked upon as "a feodatary kingdom to *Rome*, as it once "was

was in the reign of King *John*, and part of *Henry* the 3d's reign, and that the Peter-pence was ſtill a kind of acknowledgment of that ſubjection. Now where ſuch a ſubjection is really due, a feodatary prince," ſaith Mr. *Dod*, "that refuſeth to pay homage according to articles, may as well by the cuſtoms and laws of nations be deprived of his dominions."[1] The advocates of the See of *Rome* muſt be at a miſerable loſs truly, to lay any ſtreſs upon ſuch weak ſuppoſitions. Peter-pence was originally nothing more than a voluntary tax, appropriated entirely to the ſupport of an *Engliſh* church and ſchool at *Rome*, and for the benefit of that nation reſiding there:[2] and we have here a flagrant inſtance of the preſumption and vanity of the court of *Rome*, in claiming that afterwards, as an acknowledgment or quit-rent, which was only at firſt collected as a fund for the maintenance of the *Engliſh* youth and pilgrims at *Rome*. This money was called indeed Peter-pence, not as a ſuppoſed tributary homage to the pretended ſucceſſor of St. *Peter*, but becauſe it was to be paid upon the firſt of *Auguſt*, which was the feſtival of St. *Peter ad vincula*, in remembrance of

1 *Dod's* church hiſtory, [illegible] p. 99.

2 *Matt. Weſtmonaſt.* p. 265. Arch-biſhop *Parker's* ed. 1570.

the

A spontaneous, charitable

were ever tenacious of their
Prerogatives, were yet

the diſcovery of the relicks of St. *Alban*, ſuppoſed to be found upon that holy-day.[1] The Popes themſelves, who did not uſe to be over-modeſt, were ſo far from looking upon it as a debt due to them as ſuperior lords of a lay fee, that they called it only *eleemoſyna beati Petri*,[2] alms or bounty money, not a tribute paid by way of homage.

In the diſtreſsful condition King *John* was, we need not wonder, if he had very little concern for the dignity of a crown, to which he had no other right, than what uſurpation and murder could give him. The Pope had abſolved his ſubjects from their allegiance: to free himſelf from the difficulties he was involved in, and to prevent a threatened invaſion from *France*, he reſigned his realms to his Holineſs, to hold them for the future, as his feodatary, by homage; and to pay him an annual tribute. *John* vainly thought this ſtep would reduce his enemies to the ſame diſtreſſes he had experienced himſelf, before he took ſhelter under that ſanctified banner. But the barons were not ſo ſoon frighted. As *John* was univerſally odious, they raiſed a clamour againſt him in all places, for ſubmit-

1 *Collier* eccleſ. hiſt. v. i. p. 143.
2 Pope *Paſcal* in a letter to *Hen.* 1. *Eadmer*, p. 113.
Rog. de Hoveden. p 344

ting

ting to be an homager to the Pope, and for giving up the independency of the crown. But the officers of the court of *Rome*, who well knew how to fiſh in troubled waters, made great advantages of the diſturbances of his reign, and the weakneſs of his ſon's adminiſtration; and committed ſuch acts of rapine and extortion, that the wantonneſs of their tyranny was raiſed in proportion to the extreme paſſive behaviour of the ſupple *Engliſh*.

~~But however in the next reign,~~ *Edward* the 1ſt put a check to theſe exorbitances, ~~and reſtored~~ the ancient power and prerogative ~~to the crown again.~~ And when ſometime after, in the reign of *Edward* the 3d, the Pope made a demand of the homage and acknowledgment which *John*, he ſaid, had engaged for himſelf and his ſucceſſors; the three eſtates in parliament, declared this act of *John*'s illegal and not binding, and done in violation of his coronation oath; if therefore the Pope by virtue of this claim ſhould attempt any thing againſt the King, that then the King and all his ſubjects ſhould with all their force and power reſiſt and oppoſe the ſame.[1] ~~And~~ to ſhew his contempt of the Pope, the King forbad his alms or Peter-pence to be gathered or paid any more; tho' this, as

1 *Collier* eccleſ. hiſt. ~~1 v.~~ v. 1. p. 560.

Mr.

In the next Reign however,
by restoring to the Crown its

Farther,

* so that no other foreign power shall or ought to have any Superiority over them /

/ Stryppe's Annals V.I. p 161. & 269.

Mr. *Collier* ſays, [1] was only a temporary ſtoppage. This ſpirited anſwer of the King and his parliament prevented the Pope from ever making the like pretenſions, or from building any right upon the act of a weak diſheartened uſurper, never agreed to by the nation, and ſet aſide as null and invalid by an active ſucceſſor. However, what the Popes themſelves at that time dropped, as knowing the illegality and inſufficiency of their claim, their abſurd adherents in later days have preſumed to urge, as ſolid proof, that the free and imperial crown of *England* was a tributary ſtate to the biſhop of *Rome*.

But now things went in the old channel. *Henry*, purpoſing to be ſovereign of his own dominions, ſet aſide this foreign authority, which divided the obedience his ſubjects owed to him as their natural Prince. In doing this, we maintain, he took upon himſelf no other ſpiritual ſupremacy, than what "the Kings of *Iſrael* and *Judah* under the law of *Moſes*, the firſt Chriſtian Emperors under the goſpel oeconomy, and the *Saxon* Kings in *England* before the conqueſt, had conſtantly exerciſed." [2] An authority this, as the acts of parliament ſtyle it, over the perſons of the ſpirituality, as well as the temporality of the Realm.

1 Ibid. *v.* 9.
2 *Carte*, 3d. p. 129.

But

But this conferreth no power ~~on~~ the King, to do acts of a merely ſpiritual nature. The Clergy do indeed derive the authority of their function, not from the Prince, but from Chriſt himſelf: but the Prince giveth them liberty to perform their religious offices in his dominions. Thus Arch-biſhop *Laud*, whom no one will ſuſpect of any deſign of lowering the rights and privileges of the Clergy, publickly declared, "that tho' our office (i.e. epiſcopal and clerical) be from God and Chriſt immediately, yet may we not exerciſe this power, either of order or juriſdiction, but as God hath appointed us, that is, not in his Majeſty's, or any Chriſtian King's kingdoms, but by and under the power of the King given us ſo to do." [1] This is the nature of that *ſpiritual ſupremacy*, which Mr. *Phillips*, ſeeing or obſerving no difference between the *Commiſſion* to preach given by Chriſt, and the *Permiſſion*, ~~allowed~~ by the Prince, groſſly miſtakes; and dreaming of abſurdities, where none are, expoſeth his ignorance both of hiſtory and ~~divinity~~. [2]

1 Arch-bp *Laud's* ſpeech in the Star-chamber 1637 at the cenſure of *Baſtwick*, *Burton*, and *Pryn*. Remains, ~~p.~~ p. 68.

2 See this point well argued in the 2d part of biſhop *Bilſon's* true difference between chriſtian ſubjection, and unchriſtian rebellion —— throughout. Qto. *Oxon.* 1585.

The

granted,

Theology.

The ſituation of affairs in England, and the deſire *Henry* had to know *his kinſman's ſentiments of his* new *claim*, gave birth to, what Mr. *Phillips* calls, *the moſt celebrated and important of all Pole's writings*. When a *florid writer* is diſplaying the merits of a renowned character, it is no hard matter to find words to recommend, what he is before-hand determined to praiſe. Our biographer, conſcious of his extreme partiality to his hero, has condeſcended to prepare us for a little heightening. He tells us, in the entrance to his book, that *great characters, are apt to raiſe us to a ſtrain, which ſobriety of thought cannot always approve: but when we write on them, this effect is ſtill more viſible; and the ſtrength of the impreſſion, we ourſelves feel, eaſily perſuades us we ſhall be able to draw our readers within the ſame vortex*. But to ſhew his cool and moderate ſpirit, he adds, that *he laboured under the oppoſite prepoſſeſſion*: or rather, if we may ſpeak out, he believed the generality of his readers did; and ſo, by kindly endeavouring to make a ſoothing apology, *for their remaining prejudices*, he hopeth to exculpate himſelf. To do it more effectually, he trieth their patience, by provoking them to the utmoſt; and treateth with a forward inſolence the cauſe, that he knows to be, moſt dear to, and ſacred with them. The unparallelled merits and abilities of him, who

P. 112. Pref. P. 113. Pref. P. VI. Pref. P. VII.

who is all along the ſubject of our author's panegyrick, are not to be exhibited, but the
P. 112. / 125 cenſure muſt fall, upon thoſe *amazing innovations, the renouncing the Pope's ſupremacy, and ſeparating from the catholic church:*
P. 113. / 127 which opened to *Pole, the neceſſity of treating this argument in a manner ſuited to the preſent exigencies.* How well that was done, will be beſt ſeen by conſidering the performance itſelf, free from any partial bias either for the author or his cauſe, and uninfluenced by contrary prejudices againſt both.

By the help of *Pole's* apology to the Emperor, inſerted in the firſt volume of *Quirini*, Mr. *Phillips* was enabled to give ~~his~~ his readers a ſketch of this *celebrated* per-
P. 133. / 151 formance, which, he complaineth, *is now become ſcarce*, having ſuffered the common *fate* of all topical labours. Encouraged by the good opinion which the *very modeſt* author of this work entertained of it himſelf, His *Engliſh* biographer ventureth to
ib. extoll it, for *the weight of the arguments, and the gracefulneſs with which they are employed.* We are, by this time, too well acquainted with Mr. *Phillips*, to look upon commendations of this ſort, in any other light than as things of courſe. We cannot, however, help ſuſpecting, that Mr. *Phillips* hath never ~~ſeen~~ the treatiſe, he here ſo laviſhly praiſeth: if he had, and *had weighed*

the

& attentively consider'd

the arguments free from paſſion and preju- ib.
dice, would he have expoſed the nakedneſs of his hero, by ſuch fulſome and undeſerved encomiums upon his abilities? Had he been inclined to have inſulted his memory, he could not have done it more effectually, than by magnifying the *weight of his arguments*.

The ſtyle of *Reginald Pole* in this work *on the church's unity*, and indeed in all his writings, is good and *Ciceronian*; but too verboſe. He writes, as if he was conſcious of the neceſſity of enveloping himſelf in a cloud of words, to diſguiſe the poverty of his reaſoning. An indifferent reader cannot help being diſguſted with *Pole's* manner throughout. He enters upon the work with ſuch a ſpirit of acerbity, as fully manifeſts, that he laboured more to gratify his own vanity, and to feed his own ſpleen, than to convince *Henry* by the ſoothing language of duty and affection. He could not even command his temper at his firſt ſetting out: but, in the very introduction, and whilſt he is ſignifying his doubts, whether he ſhould take up his pen and write, or no; he indulgeth his reſentment in reproaching his friend, his benefactor, his patron. He tells the King, that it was not ſo much through any deſire of knowing the truth, that *he* had propoſed to his conſideration that new and uſurped dignity, which *he* had

had taken upon *himself*, of ſupreme head of the church of *England*, but ~~that he might look upon the man of a contrary opinion as an enemy and a traytor, and puniſh~~ him accordingly.' [1] —— That how vain an attempt it would be, to perſuade the King to alter his opinion, they had experienced, who had loſt their lives for being of the ſame opinion with him, who had at firſt incurred *Henry's* hatred and diſpleaſure, for not giving up the cauſe of truth; receiving this as the reward of their innocency, to ſuffer that puniſhment which was due only to the vileſt of malefactors. [2]

1 *Ex altera parte, multa mihi ſunt impedimento, multa me deterrent. Ante omnia, quod tu non veritatis cognoſcendæ ſtudio, hoc mihi argumentum proponis, de poteſtate Pontificis Romani diſputandi, cui adjuncta cauſa eſt tui iſtius novi, & nunc primum uſurpati honoris, quo ſupremi Anglicæ eccleſiæ capitis jus tibi, ac nomen arrogaſti: nec quaſi de rebus in controverſia poſitis, quid probem, quæris, ... cum ſic alteri parti, & ei quidem quæ maxime cum veritate pugnat, adhæreas, ut qui contra ſentire ſe fateatur, eum tu hoſtis ac proditoris loco habeas, eandemque in illum pœnam, quam in ſceleratiſſimum quemque ſtatuas.*

Polus de unit. eccleſ. L. 1. p. 1. ed. *Verger.*

2 *Quam autem fruſtra me fatigarem, ſi te conarer deducere de ſententia, quidnam certius declarare poteſt, quam eorum, qui idem, quod ego, ſentiebant, nullum aliud ob crimen effuſus ſanguis? Qui cum initio odium tuum, offenſionemque propterea ſuſcepiſſent, quod veritatis cauſam deſerere noluiſſent: hoc ad ultimum aſſecuti videntur, ut ſceleratorum pœnas homines innocentiſſimi ſubirent.*

Ibid. Ibidem.

Was

that he adhered to ~~that~~ the contrary Opinion, to that which was most repugnant to truth, with so much obstinacy that he held every man an Enemy and a Traitor who thought differently from him, and punished

Was this a proper method to beſpeak *Henry's* favour and attention? was ſuch language likely to divert him from his purpoſes? ſurely the fartheſt from it. But what ſhould honeſt *Pole* do? *Henry*, it will be ſaid, wanted to entrap him: *He did not doubt what his ſentiments were; but he choſe this ſhould be the date of that implacable enmity, with which he, ever after, perſecuted him and his family.* Be it ſo! he gained his end to his heart's deſire: and *Pole's* haſty violence gave the King the opportunity *of wrecking his vengeance on his family.* Had *Reginald* poſſeſſed but a common ſhare of prudence and diſcretion, he might eaſily have eluded the tyrant's art. But what, if this be not reckoning rather too haſtily? *Henry* had neither quarrelled with *Pole*, nor any of his family, at this time: and it was not till ſome years after, before his friends found any alteration in *Henry's* behaviour; and that was owing to provocations given him by them. The King might indeed ſuſpect, that *Reginald* favoured neither his divorce, nor his ſupremacy; and if he wanted any occaſion (which indeed, is far from being clear) to quarrel with his kinſman upon this account, this work ſufficiently juſtified his warmeſt reſentment. But the King *commanded him to write his opinion.* True. But if *Pole* diſapproved of his proceedings, could he not have written,

P. 112. / 127

P. 122. / 130

P. 113. / 128

ten, with the gratitude of a penſioner, the duty of a ſubject, and the ſpirit of a chriſtian? Did his difference with the King compel him to have recourſe to weak and groſs invectives? When his paſſions could hurry him to ſuch lengths, at the entrance of his work, neither much temper, nor much reaſoning, could be expected in the progreſs of it.

Mr. *Phillips* has produced a ſtriking inſtance of the vanity and arrogance of *Pole*, *notwithſtanding the modeſty* he has aſcribed to him. *Reginald*, it ſeems, had ſo good an opinion of his own performance, that he told his friend *Priuli*, "that he was ſo engaged "in the defence of *Peter's* ſhip" (a frequent metaphor of *Pole* upon all occaſions) "that he had nothing more at heart, than "how to preſerve it from the aſſaults and "attempts of all thoſe pirates (how many "or various ſoever) that now or hereafter "might attack it."[1] A modeſt degree of confidence this, truly! And if Mr. *Phillips* had ever peruſed the work itſelf, he might have found in it many inſtances of equal

P. 133. /5/.

1 --- *Ad Petri ſcilicet navis defenſionem, in qua nunc ita verſor, ut nihil mihi majori curæ ſit, quam ut eam contra omnium Piratarum conatus, & impetus non modo, qui jam facti ſunt, ſed & qui vel excogitari poſſint (qui multi, ut ſcis, poſſunt eſſe & varii) tutam & munitam reddam.*

Ep. ad Priolum. Quirini, v. 1. p. 426.

aſſu-

hitherto

assurance. I will only produce one example of this spirit; of which it is hard to say, whether the enthusiasm of it is most to be pitied, or the profaneness of it to be detested. He tells the King, "that God commanded "him to abuse him. ~~---~~ Christ," He says, "ordered him to write these bitter "things, not to reproach him, but to shew "him his transgressions." [1] The true cant this of every enthusiast! *Reginald* worked himself up to a proper pitch; and then presumptuously fancied the turbulent emotions of his own disturbed mind, to be the dictates of that spirit, which is gentle, and worketh by love.

The bitter, the vindictive wrath, which is kept up throughout this whole work of *Pole*, cannot be palliated by the feeble vindication which himself, and his admirers, offer in excuse of it. *The King*, we are told, *could not be wrought on to enter into himself, but from the sole dread of having his actions seen in their real light. Milder methods had been applied in vain.* But did P. 132. 149

1 --- *Idem dicere verissime possum, quod David de illo suo conviciatore credebat, Dominum mihi jussisse, ut tibi hoc meo scripto maledicam . . . Sed quæ mysteria nunc loquor? a quo sum jussus? quis Dominus me talia loqui jussit? idem Princeps qui communis tibi mihique est Dominus, Christus inquam me illa scribere jussit, non ut convicia tibi facerem, sed ut peccata tua ostenderem.*

Polus de Unit. Eccles. L. 4. p. 84.

Pole ever try any of these *milder methods*? and did this bitterness succeed? or if *Henry* was a brute, must He therefore lay aside all regard to decency and good-manners? If the one was outrageous, must the other be so too? So it seems he thought: and the natural lenity, mildness and humility of the gentle *Pole* was, through mere necessity, set aside; and he must needs try, what railing and scurrility would do. And
P. 132. what had *Henry* done to deserve *this asperity so contrary to Pole's own temper*. He had treated Sir *Thomas More*, and bishop *Fisher*, severely, cruelly, tyrannically. He had indeed. We are sorry those great men should fall under the displeasure of so furious a Prince. "Though they suffered" (as an old friend of *Pole* expressed it, in a letter to him) "by their own folly. Which died, neither for their virtues, nor for the profession of any such matter, which per-

[1] *Eo usque semper abstinui a maledictis & conviciis . . . . ut multis mea hæc lenitas, lenitudo potius quædam & demissi humilisque animi signum videretur. Ita semper natura abhorrui a maledictis . . . . quid ergo? si talis mea & natura & consuetudo est, . . . commisissem unquam ut in Regem . . . . qui mea studia benignitate sua fovet, in hunc igitur talem maledicta unquam mea sponte dicerem, nisi qui in me majus Imperium habet, hoc mihi imposuisset?* Ibid. ibidem.

Let the indignant reader remark this hypocritical cant. *Pole* certainly knew not what spirit he was of, when he impiously ascribed to the suggestion of God, the frantic ravings of fanatic spleen.

"taineth

violent and outrageous, must he, therefore,
forget his duty and allegiance. and

But
all

We frankly own it.

addressed to him himself

Moreover,

thought he

taineth to Chriſt's glory: but only for the ſuperſtitious defence of that thing, for the which I think hereafter never wiſe man will do." [1] Could *Pole* think, he took the right way to prevent any further ſeverities, when he irritated *Henry* to the utmoſt; and collected together, and applied to him, all the hard, abuſive names that belonged to an infidel, and a reprobate? Of all men, *Henry* was the laſt to be frighted by the bullying of a ſubject; who, moſt ungratefully, attacked him with every invective, that animated rancour could ſuggeſt. And moreover, what might add venom to his expreſſions, was, that he had transferred his allegiance from *Henry* to the Pope: he was to be his penſioner for the future; and upon that account might indulge himſelf the more in his illiberal railing, to convince his Holineſs, that the breach, between himſelf and *Henry*, was got to ſuch an height, that a reconciliation was impoſſible: and therefore he would blow the trumpet of war, and raiſe up thoſe enemies both at home and abroad, who ſhould diſturb the tranquillity of *Henry's* reign. And all this forſooth! out of pure good will, if we will believe him. [2] This may be

1 *Starky's* letter to *Pole*. inſerted in *Strype's* memorials, v. 1. Appendix, p. 190 —— 198.

2 *Hactenus ego contra Regem, cui ſane ita me adverſarium præſtiti, ut eum jam perditum, & ſibi, & regno ſuo,*

called haranguing, but it is not reaſoning.

P. 133. / 151. We are deſired however, *to examine the weight of the arguments.*

The *ſupremacy* of the biſhop of *Rome* is the point, that *Pole* avowedly labours to eſtabliſh. He tells the King in the beginning of the work, "that he could not offer "a greater injury to the church, than when "he deprived it of its head; and denied "the *Roman* pontiff to be the only head of "the church upon earth, and the vicar of "Chriſt." [1] If therefore *Pole* would, or could, exert the powers of manly reaſoning, he would upon this ſubject do his utmoſt. The ſecond book of the *church's unity* is allotted for the proof of this capital article: and ſome of the arguments ſhall be produced, as ſpecimens of *Pole's weighty* method of arguing. The biſhop of *Rome* being the ſucceſſor of *Peter*; if that Apoſtle's primacy is proved, the others, he reckons, is ſo too. "When Chriſt told *Peter*, "he had prayed for his faith, [2] it was for

ſuo, quantum in me eſſet, reſtituerem, imprimiſque Deo, & eccleſiæ filium & amicum redderem?

Ep. ad Edw. 6. ſect. 45.

1 *Dico igitur, dico hanc abs te injuriam eccleſiæ inferri, qua haud ſcio an major potuerit, quod ſuum illi caput in terris aufers, cum pontificem Romanum unicum in terris eccleſiæ caput, & Chriſti vicarium negas.*

De Unit. L. 1. p. 3.

2 *Chriſtus ad unum Simonem convertit ſermonem, ... (Luc.* 22.) *quod perinde eſt, ac ſi diceret. Simon, cujus congre-*

POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON.

Extract of a Letter from Rome, Jan. 12, 1767.

" You may remember, that ſome Time ſince, I ſent you a Sketch of a Book that has made a very great Noiſe in theſe Parts, *De Statu Eccleſiæ, &c.* ſet forth under the Name of *Juſtinus Febronius*, and which had no leſs than thee or four Editions within the Year: In this Book the Author affirms the Authority of all Biſhops to be equal, confutes the Pretences for eſtabliſhing a Monarchy in the Church, inſiſts, that the Primacy of the Biſhops of Rome was not inſtituted by Chriſt, but by St. Peter and the Church, by the Authority of which it may be tranſlated to any other See; that the Convocation of Ecumenical Councils is by no Law, divine or human, reſerved to Popes, and that the Popes themſelves are ſubject to the Church, and the general Law thereof, and may be depoſed by it, &c. This Book, written in the Latin Tongue, and ſuppoſed to have been compoſed by ſome Dignitary in Germany, has been ſo well received in Italy, that a Bookſeller at Venice has publickly propoſed to print an Italian Tranſlation of it by Subſcription, with great Encomiums of it, as a Performance calculated for pious Ends, and greatly conducive to Religion, and the Advantage of ſecular Government: A Propoſal that has given ſuch an Alarm to the Court of Rome, as to merit a publick Cenſure, and to forbid all Encouragement, under the ſevereſt Penalties; which Cenſure, as I imagine, you will not be ill pleaſed to ſee, I ſhall give you it therefore in its full Length, tranſlated. It runs thus:

" Lewis Mary Torrigiani, Deacon of S. Agata, Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, Secretary of State to his Holineſs our Signore: Whereas a certain Print has appeared in Publick, in which, *Joſeph Bettinelli*, Bookſeller and Printer at Venice, invites all pious and catholick Perſons to ſubſcribe to an Edition, which he promiſes to promulgate of that wicked Performance now tranſlated into Italian, and publiſhed in the Year 1763, in Latin under the falſe Name of *Juſtinus Febronius*. We know not whether we ought to be more ſurpriſed at the Temerity of the ſaid Printer (who pretends that a Work, which has not only been condemned on mature Examination, as uſual, by the Holy Congregation of the Index, but alſo proſcribed by the moſt illuſtrious and venerable Biſhops of Germany, where the Book had its unhappy Birth, is capable of doing great Service to Religion, and the ſecular States, and the Scope of which is ſo pious and holy) or his Aſſurance to ſearch for Subſcriptions in Bologna, by the Means of his Brothers Taruffi, and even in Rome, and the whole eccleſiaſtical State by that of every Bookſeller; to the Intent however, that every Abuſe, and every bad Effect, which may ariſe from ſuch Invitation, may be prevented, we do by the expreſs Order of our Signore, prohibit all Perſons, whether eccleſiaſtical, ſecular or regular, in the eccleſiaſtical State, as well ſuch as are immediately, as mediately ſubject, comprehending alſo the four Legations, and the City of Benevento, to ſubſcribe to it, and much more to receive or procure Subſcriptions to the ſaid Edition, on Pain of the Galleys for Ten Years, or other correſpondent PUNISHMENT, according to the Degree and Quality of the Perſons in Caſe of Contravention. And this preſent Edict, when publiſhed and ſtuck up in the uſual Places at Rome, ſhall oblige every Man, as much as if it had been perſonally intimated to him. Given at the Apoſtolical Palace of the Monte Quirinale, this 28th of Nov. 1766, L. Card. Torrigiani."

" the faith of him alone, the faith of the
" head; and when he added, when thou
" art converted ſtrengthen thy brethren, this
" was plainly committing his brethren, the
" Apoſtles, to *Peter's* care only; the words
" of St. *Luke* declare this fully, and ſhew
" the will of Chriſt concerning his future
" vicar. — *Peter* and *John* performed mi-
" racles together; this ſhews clearly whoſe
" perſon *Peter* repreſented: the beloved diſ-
" ciple, joining himſelf to *Peter*, when his
" Lord was taken away, declared by this
" act, that the perſon of the Lord was
" transferred unto *Peter*.[1] —— And when
" theſe two diſciples ran to the ſepulchre,
" *John*, though he got there firſt, went not

congregationis te Principem & caput conſtitui . . . ſequitur enim --- Ego rogavi, ut non deficiat fides tua . . . Oratio inquam Chriſti pro fide unius, pro fide capitis. Sed adhuc totam rem manifeſtam faciunt, quæ mox ſequuntur verba Chriſti ad unum Petrum. Tu vero, inquit, converſus confirma fratres tuos. Quid apertius hic dici poteſt, cum cura & confirmatio fidei fratrum Petri, qui erant apoſtoli, committatur ſoli Petro? Ego rogavi &c. hæc, apud Lucam ſatis quidem aperte, Chriſti voluntatem de futuro ſuo vicario oſtendentia.

De Unit. L. 2. p. 38.

1 *Petrus cum Joanne conſociatus miracula edidit, id vel maxime ſignificet, cujus perſonam Petrus ſuſtineret, a quo dilectus ille Jeſu diſcipulus, eo qui diligebat ſublato, non fere diſcederet, ſed ejus lateri, ut quondam Domini ſolebat, perpetuo adhæreret, eo ipſo declarans perſonam Domini in Petrum fuiſſe tranſlatam.*

Ibid. ibidem.

in,

"in, ſignifying, that he muſt wait his coming, who now occupied the place of Chriſt: but when *Peter* came and entered into the ſepulchre, he alſo went in after him; as if he had a mind to teſtify, that it was his privilege to go firſt into the ſepulchre of the dead Chriſt, to whom Chriſt himſelf had bequeathed his place."[1] — Again. "Only *Peter* walked upon the water, not ſtaying for a ſhip, to go to his maſter. Only *Peter* drew the net aſhore. Theſe are ſpoken in a myſtery."[2] — When Chriſt ſaid unto him, feed my ſheep, without any exception, the whole church is committed to his care, and he is appointed the paſtor of it.[3] —— And

1 *Si igitur nihil erat, quod ad Petrum præcipue pertinere duceret, cur non qui prior accurrerat ſtatim ut venit, introivit? commodius profecto introiſſet in monumentum ſolus. Sed curſum repreſſit, . . . quid aliud ſignificans, quam expectari oportere eum, qui Chriſti locum obtineret? . . . venit autem Simon Petrus, & introivit monumentum. Sequiturque, tunc introivit & ille diſcipulus . . . quaſi ſignificare vellet, ingredi primum in monumentum Chriſti mortui, pertinere ad eum, cui Chriſtus ipſe locum ſuum eſſet relicturus.* Ibid. p. 39.

2 *Petrus, ſimul ac vidit Dominum in littore non expectavit, ut navigio, . . . ad eum veniret, ſed ſtatim ſeſe in mare demiſit, in quo perſonam Chriſti maxime expreſſit, ambulans ſuper aquam, cum cæteri navigio veherentur. Itemque de Petro ſolo eodem loco dicitur Aſcendit Petrus & traxit rhete in terram, plenum quinquaginta tribus piſcibus. Quæ omnia in myſterio dicuntur.* Ibid. Ibid.

3 *Verba ipſa nonne per ſe ipſa clara ſunt? ſi oves Chriſti paſcere a Chriſto ſummo paſtore Petrus jubetur, nonne Oves Chriſti curæ Petri committuntur? ſi omnes quicunque in eccleſia ſunt, Oves Chriſti ſunt, cum Oves Chriſti*

"the biſhop of *Rome* ſucceeded *Peter* in "his authority, for when Chriſt ſaid, lo, I "am with you always even unto the end "of the world, not indeed corporally pre-"ſent with you; but there ſhall never be "wanting thoſe, who ſhall repreſent my "perſon, and to whom I will give the ſame "divine power, as to you[1]: now," ſays our acute reaſoner, "no other See, but that of "*Rome*, can reckon a conſtant ſucceſſion of "biſhops; which could not have been, if "that church had not been ſupported by "the word of Chriſt.[2] — And *Cyprian*,[3] "and *Hierom*,[4] call the church of *Rome*, "the See of *Peter*."

Theſe are ſome of thoſe *weighty* and irrefragable *arguments*, which *Pole* ſo *gracefully employs*, in this *moſt celebrated and important of all his writings*. To produce them, is to expoſe them; for in truth they deſerve no other notice, than the moſt ſo-

P. 133. p.
P. 153. p.

Chriſti ſine ulla exceptione, Petro committantur tanquam paſtori, nonne tota eccleſia illius curæ & gubernationi . . . . . attribuitur? nonne is jam paſtor totius eccleſiæ declaratur? Ibid. ibidem.

1 *Spiritu quidem nunquam a vobis diſcedam uſque ad conſummationem ſæculi, corpore certe præſens non ero: cæterum nullo tempore deerunt, qui perſonam meam ſuſtineant, quibus eandem quam tibi, divinam poteſtatem dabo, &c.* Ibid. p. 40.

2 *Quod de nulla eccleſia, niſi Romana . . . oſtendi poteſt, quod certe fieri non potuiſſet, niſi verbo Chriſti Roma . . . . . niteretur.* Ibid. p. 41.

3 Ibid. p. 44.

4 Ibid. p. 46.

vereign

vereign contempt: and though there be many paſſages in this work nervous and pathetic, yet nothing can be more idle and trifling, than the argumentative part of it. We do not therefore wonder to find, that they were pretty much deſpiſed when they were ſent firſt into *England*, as having nothing of *weight* in them.[1] And yet Mr. *Phillips*, loath to loſe a ſmart ſentence that ſtruck him, hath adopted for his own, this ſhrewd remark of *Quirini*[2] — *Thus, as the errors of Janſenius are ſaid to have found a grave prepared for them in the writings of Sadolet, it may be added, that Luther's have met with the ſame fate in thoſe of Contareni and Pole.* Poſitive aſſertions are ſooner made, than proved. *Contareni*, perhaps, reaſoning neither more *weightily*, nor more *gracefully* than *Pole*, the Friar's writings and doctrines were ſo far from *finding a grave* in the works of either of theſe, that they are ſtill extant, and in credit: whereas all the

P. 286. / 327

1 *Quæ ad Regem, & ejuſdem conſultores a tua Paternitate in Britanniam ſcripta privatim mittuntur, ea crede cum maximis cachinnis excipi, & ceu nihil ponderis habentia irrideri.*

Anglus quidam Polo. Quirini, v. 2. *Diatribæ*, p. C. & *Ep.* p. 77.

2 *Janſeniſticæ doctrinæ tumulum in Sadoletica reperiri, quorundam Catholicorum Doctorum effatum eſt, pari ratione inſignem cladem a Contareno, & Polo retuliſſe doctrinam Lutheranam dicendum erit.*

Quirini, v. 3. Præf. p. 86.

dignity

[1] as the latter very injuriously terms him.

[2] confidently

dignity of the others, have hardly had *weight* enough with the learned world to preſerve their labours; and they are better known, as cardinals, than as writers. But, ſo a compliment could be made to *Pole*, our joint authors, *Quirini* and Mr. *Phillips*, are much leſs ſollicitous to examine the propriety of it, than how often they can offer up the groſſeſt incenſe to the imaginary, faultleſs character of their all-perfect hero.

Burnet and *Verger* have fallen under the laſh of *Quirini*'s pen, for preſuming to cenſure this *moſt celebrated* performance. The cardinal [1] is highly offended, that the biſhop ſhould ſpeak ſo diſreſpectfully of it, and ſay that it *was more eſteemed for the high quality of the author, than for ſound reaſoning*. His *Engliſh* copier repeats the cenſure: but they differ in their reply to this *bold aſſertor*. The One refers us to the handſome things that *Caſa* hath ſaid of *Pole* in the life of *Bembo*. [2] The Other ~~indecently~~ ſays, that, *what has been already ſaid, refutes this peremptory deciſion*. Mr. *Phillips*

P. 134. note. / 152

P. 134. note. ib.

1 *Quirini*, v. 1. *Diat.* c. 5. p. 329, referring to *Burnet* hiſt. Ref. but making no reference to volume, book, or page, our writer has left his readers equally in the dark, where to find the biſhop's juſt character of this trifling, flaſhy, ſelf-ſufficient performance of *Pole*. It occurs in v. 1. book 3. p. 221.

2 *Quirini*, ibid. p. 330.

muſt

muſt certainly think very meanly of his readers, if he flatters himſelf he can command their underſtanding, or their aſſent, at pleaſure. What we have produced here, will, we hope, confirm biſhop *Burnet's* opinion; and leſſen the high conceit, that our author, or others, may entertain, of *the ſound reaſoning* made uſe of in this work.

Pref. p. x. Our biographer tells us, that he *might have trifled very learnedly with the miſrepreſentations of writers of ſome note, to which the courſe of his work had led him.* It would have done him no harm, to have looked into thoſe writers a little more than he did. His knowledge lay in a narrower compaſs than comparing different hiſtorians: happily for him, his *learning* was acquired at an eaſier rate. The laborious *Quirini* had gone through the drudgery of collecting the greateſt part of the materials requiſite to illuſtrate his ſubject: and where he did not purſue the hiſtory, others, as little known, might eaſily enough be had to ſupply his deficiencies. *Le-Grand* has helped him to moſt of the particulars of *Henry*'s divorce: where he ended, Mr. *Phillips* was forced to have recourſe to his old co-adjutor. *Quirini* could enable him to diſplay his judgment in collecting his materials, and his *learning* in defending *Pole:* the *Engliſh* were ſtrangers to the cardinal's name and character; and

A Cardinal

A that

^ consummate

^ for the most part

and all would go off, as his own, with eclat:

Labore alieno magno partam gloriam
Verbis in ſeſe tranſmovet; qui habet
ſalem.

Who could detect him? he called himſelf an author, who could prove him to be little more than a mere tranſlator? what, if no body could? he muſt yet be conſcious himſelf of his own vanity, and ever fear the ſhame of detection. And tho' his credit might be unimpeached, yet his induſtry and his care in the compilation of his materials, would be called in queſtion. Had he condeſcended to have conſulted thoſe hiſtorians he gives himſelf the air to ſlight, they would have furniſhed him with many *documents* greatly to his purpoſe. He ſays indeed, that *acceſs has been had to all our records*. We know it well. We find others did take that pains. But we doubt very much, whether Mr. *Phillips* himſelf ever conſulted any one of thoſe records: but where he does appeal to them, he well knows his parade of diligence cometh often-times from ſome of theſe ſlighted hiſtorians.

P. I. 18.

for

In the part now under conſideration, our author reſteth contented with what he found in *Quirini*,[1] to illuſtrate the hiſtory

1 *Diatriba ad Epiſt. Reg. Poli*, c. 5. from p. 307 --- 362. *Quir.* v. 1.

of

of *Pole's* work on the *church's unity*: he does not ſeem to have given himſelf any trouble, in inquiring into the ſentiments of ~~our own writers~~ concerning that book, any further, than the information he received from the cardinal. *Burnet* and *Strype* have produced, from the public records, many *particulars* relating to this very treatiſe worth his notice; the omiſſion of which would be deemed unpardonable in any impartial, and accurate hiſtorian, who had but heard of their names, and was deſirous to render his own work the more compleat.

Sampſon's book, which the King ſent to *Pole*, and againſt which he profeſſedly wrote ~~his own book,~~ Mr. *Strype* has inſerted in his memorials of the reformation.[1] From the ſame author we learn, how this *important* work was received in *England* by *Pole's* beſt friends, and well-wiſhers; and the trouble they gave themſelves to ſtate the matter fully and clearly to him.[2] *Quirini*,[3] and his copier, tell us, that when P. 128. 145 *Pole ſent the work on the church's unity to the King, Henry wrote to him by the ſame Meſſenger.* Now, had Mr. *Phillips* conſulted Bp *Burnet*, he would have communicated to him the private inſtructions, *Pole* en-

1 Vol. 1. appendix, p. 109, &c.

2 *Strype's* Memorials, v. 1. c. 37 and 38. p. 289, &c.

3 *Quirini*, v. 1. p. 340.

truſted

† the Writers of his own Country

† knowing,

† this famous Work on the Church's Unity

---

2 ‡ In the first Volume of the Annals of the Reformation page 464. Mention is made of one Dominicus Lampsonius of Bruges in Flanders, Secretary to † the Bishops & Prince of Liege formerly Scribe & Servant to Cardinal Pole in England, who in the Year 1565 wrote to Secretary Cecil upon the Footing of an old familiar Friend, to acquaint him with a Design of his for composing the present Differences in Religion &c. N.B. No notice is taken of such an

attendant upon Pope by Querini: of course therefore, his english Biographer is as silent about him.

truſted with the meſſenger, who carried his book to the King.[1] And, what *his anſwer to Henry* really *was*, when he commanded him home to explain his book, is preſerved by Mr. *Strype*.[2]

The ſubject matter of correſpondence between *Pole* and his *Engliſh* friends, is ſtated in two long letters of *Reginald* to his confident *Contareni*;[3] and eludicated by *Quirini* in the chapter above referred to.

1 *Burnet*, Ref. v. 3. Records, p. 460.

2 *Strype's* memorials, v. 1. appendix, p. 199.

3 Mr. *Phillips*, when he gives us the *ſubſtance of theſe letters*, p. 128, &c. rendereth theſe words of *Pole*, *ut præciſe & aperte negem, me domum rediturum, niſi Rex prius domum ipſe, id eſt ad eccleſiam redeat, a qua . . . erat alieniſſimus* (*Quir.* v. 1. p. 456.) thus *That he would return to his country, when he could do it with honour and ſafety.* But by what kind of conſtruction, is hard to ſay. It is agreeable to the liberty he takes in the next page, where relating the ſubſtance of *Cromwell's* and *Tonſtal's* remonſtrances, he makes *Pole* ſay, at the cloſe, that they made him *(beſides bewailing his country's misfortunes) endeavour to convey to the King that truth, which ſo many meaſures contributed to extinguiſh.* P. 129. Whereas *Pole's* own words are, *ſciant me nunquam illi defuturum . . . . quo minus veritatem, & ſalutarem ſententiam cognitam non omnibus modis illius animo inculcem.* Ibid. p. 474.
But it would be tireſome to produce every inſtance, where this licentious humour of tranſlation is indulged; was this, or the faulty tranſlations, to be carefully noted, few of Mr. *Phillips's* authorities would be found to have eſcaped the correcting improvements of his luxuriant pen.

v. *Quir.* v. 1. *Ep. Poli Contareno*, p. 455, and p. 470.

His

His tranſlator is indeed much more civil to *Pole* than any of his correſpondents, or even *Quirini* himſelf; for he maketh *Cromwell* to addreſs him (in the abſtract, he has badly tranſlated, of a letter from *Pole* to *Contareni*) under the ſtyle and title of *My Lord*; to which he had no more right or pretenſions, than Mr. *Phillips*, I believe, hath; and which *Pole* himſelf could give him no reaſon to add, from the account he ſent *Contareni* of the letter he had received from that miniſter of ſtate. Sure I am, his other friends contented themſelves with calling him, *Sir*, or *Maſter*: and if we may gueſs from *Pole's* abſurd behaviour to *Cromwell*, or his malicious invectives againſt him, he had no reaſon to expect any further civilities from him, than he could legally claim.

P. 129. 147

Mr. *Phillips* proceeds and tells us, *Pole anſwered Tonſtal's letter, which he ſays was rather a volume than an epiſtle.* *Pole* does indeed ſay this in a letter to his confidant *Contareni*; where he betrays a ſufficient degree of vanity and ſelf-conceit, to ſay it of *Tonſtal's* letter, when his reply to it was ſo immoderately tedious and prolix. The biſhop of *Durham's* letter is inſerted by biſhop *Burnet* amongſt his records,[1] and containeth about 6 pages: *Pole's* reply is pre-

P. 134. 152

1 *Burnet*, Ref. v. 3. Records, p. 464.

ſerved

own

λ taketh up full

λ written

λ inserted in Strype's valuable Collection: & worth consulting upon this Occasion, wherein he Expostulates with him

λ to his affectionate Friend & Sovereign

λ indeed,

ſerved by *Strype*, and filleth no leſs than 13 pages.[1] In this letter, the biſhop contented himſelf with attacking the foundation of the principles advanced by *Pole* in his late book; which drew from him that verboſe letter, which, with greater truth, may be called, *rather a volume than an epiſtle*. Upon this, *Tonſtal renewed his objections to the papal authority*, in a letter wrote in his own and *Stokeſley's* name, and ſent to *Pole* upon his nomination *to a red hat*, as he terms it; wherein he entered into a very minute examination of the *weighty* and convincing arguments of *Pole's* book.[2] Beſides theſe, there are two or three very earneſt letters written by *Thomas Starky*, a chaplain of the King, and an old and intimate friend of *Pole*; who expoſtulated with him, in a very home and ſenſible manner, upon his violent, perverſe, and diſloyal behaviour towards *Henry*.[3]

P. 137.

Had *Quirini* known any thing of theſe letters, his tranſlator would have heard of them too; and triumphed in the *acceſs that had been had to our* public *records*, for there are they preſerved: and if we compare them

Pref. p. x.

1 *Strype's* Memorials, v. 1. Append, p. 206.

2 *Tonſtal's* ſecond letter. *Knight's* life of *Eraſmus*, Append, p. LXVI. *Strype's* Mem. v. 1. p. 299. and life of Parker, p. 47.

3 *Strype's* Mem. v. 1. p. 291, and p. 298. Append. p. 188, and p. 190.

with the ſhort and unfair repreſentation which the ſelf complacent *Pole* giveth, of thoſe he mentions, to *Contareni*, we ſhall find ſome human foibles in the character of this *moſt conſpicuous perſonage of his Epoch*; and that his *modeſt worth* was no more *void of vanity and oſtentation*, than other inferiour mortals.

Pref. xiii.

Pref. p. xii.

The trouble his friends in *England* gave themſelves, was all in vain. *Reginald* was not to be moved. Conſcious of his inſolence, and malignity againſt *Henry*, he was afraid to truſt himſelf in his power. *The Vicar of Chriſt* however ſoon relieved him of his embarraſſment, by ordering him to *Rome*, *in virtute ſanctæ obedientiæ*:[1] and glad he was to ſhelter himſelf under that all-powerful protection. [illegible] entreaties or remonſtrances from *Henry*, or his own family, could prevent his taking this offenſive ſtep; though, he knew, they conſidered it, as the public renouncing of all duty and gratitude to his ſovereign, all regard to his friends and family, and all love to his country. He was ſo abſorbed in the *Vortex* of the Pope's ſupremacy, that theſe motives affected him not. From this time, he indulged himſelf in every malevolent diſpoſition towards *Henry*. To deceive him-

1 *Ep. Pauli Papæ* 3. *Reg. Pole.* *Quirini*, v. 1. p. 466.

ſelf

and his intention of complying with that call,

were such,

ſelf, and to diſguiſe it more artfully from others, he cloathed it in the garb of religion: and to palliate his overt-acts of treaſon, he made his fears for the church, the vehicle of his railing. In a letter to *Contareni*, inſtead of ſpeaking with that degree of kindneſs, which a *milder heart* would have done, for the ſollicitude the king (who certainly loved him much) had ſhewed to reclaim him, if poſſible, and draw him to his duty; he rather betrays a wicked malignity of heart, in harbouring a ſuſpicion, that his life was in danger; and therefore he deſires his friend to adviſe with his Holineſs, how he might beſt eſcape the ſnare.[1] Mr. *Phillips* indeed ſays, *the Event* Pref. P. XII. P. 138.

1 *Nunc, ut ſcires, quo ſtatu & quo periculo verſor . . . hunc tabellarium miſi, & ſimul ut rogarem, ut de hac re cum S. D. N. conferas maxime, qua ratione ab horum inſidiis, qui ex hac cauſa mihi erunt inimiciſſimi, tutus eſſe poſſim. De hoc enim maxime laboro, quod ſciam, poſtquam me verbis flecti poſſe deſperarint, eos omnia conaturos, ut me e medio tollant.*

Quirini, v. 1. *Ep. Poli Cont.* p. 483.

Mr. *Phillips* has taken his uſual liberties with this letter. *Pole* does not ſay, *the news of his journey had already reached the King's ears:* his own meſſenger, whom he had ſent to *Henry* to acquaint him with his invitation to *Rome*, was returned, and he ſays, brought back with him, the ſtrongeſt diſſuaſives againſt that journey. *Cromwell's* letter, he adds, was written in the King's name, *atque has ex Regis verbis ſcripſit.* His mother's and brother's letters, he adds, *quæ me maxime movebant, erant ſcriptæ ſic miſerabiliter ut . . . prope ſuccubuerim.* In conſequence of his reſolution to purſue his journey, he did not, as Mr. *Phillips* tells us, *write to Lord Crom-*

verified the prediction. But ſurely *Pole* indulged his fears too early. His enemies as he called, ~~and had made them~~ ſuch, had hitherto been ſtriving to recover his affection, by the arts of perſuaſion; and had given him no reaſon for this jealouſy. His overcautious, affected anxiety might perhaps incline them ~~to humour him in his own way, and~~ to keep up thoſe alarming fears, which his own ſuſpicious temper had firſt raiſed.

P. 136. 154 When *Charles the 5th was expected, in Italy*, not *to be crowned by the Pope*, (for that had been done ſome years before) but to have a conference with him concerning the affairs of *Italy*, and the pacification of *Germany*; [1] *Pole*, in ſome letters of his to *Priuli* ~~wrote~~ about this time, expreſſeth great uneaſineſs at the apprehenſions of a renewal of friendſhip between *Henry* and the Emperor. He entreats him moſt earneſtly to prevent ſuch an accommodation: and when *Priuli* ſeemed to think it an improper ſeaſon, for the Emperor to meddle in *Engliſh* matters, becauſe of the wars he

well, &c. p. 138. but to give the whole in his own words, *Pole* himſelf ſays. *Quare ſtatim* nuncium remiſi ad Regem . . . *tale vero reſponſum dedi, ut facile ſcirct, tali in cauſa, nihil me ullius hominis minas facere. Tunſtalli vero litteris, vel potius volumini . . . non minus longa oratione . . . reſpondi. Parentibus autem, ut potui, ſatisfeci.*

1 Father *Paul's* hiſt. of the council of *Trent*, B. 1. p. 78. *Burnet, v.s. p 84*

was

[1] them, [3] whom indeed he had made

[2] at length,

[2] as We are told by our accurate Historian;

[4] written

was engaged in: *Pole*, upon this, vehemently expoſtulated with him, in the long letter here referred to, for his worldly maxims; for being contented that the care of proſecuting the war, ſhould take place of that of religion. What was this, he tells him, but to defer that to a more convenient opportunity, which, God had commanded, ſhould be firſt of all conſulted. [1] It requires but little ſagacity, to penetrate into *Pole's* real deſigns. He certainly wanted his friend *Priuli* to prevail upon *Contareni*, by the warmeſt perſuaſions, to inſtigate the Emperor, to put into execution the ſanguinary advice he had inculcated into him, in that impertinent harangue addreſſed to him in the body of his late work; which was, to divert his arms from the eaſtern to the weſtern Mahometan, as the greater foe of the two to Chriſt and his church. [2] *Pole's*

1 *Hoc tumultu belli nihil a me ejuſmodi expectari jubes. Quid ergo expectabimus, ut belli gerendi conſilia religionis cauſæ juvandæ conſiliis anteponantur? At hæc poſt finito bello commodius agentur. Ita ne vero, quæ Deus primo loco habenda cenſuit, tu in ſecundum rejicies, & dices commodius illic reponi? . . . An hoc modo pericula bellorum evitantur, ſi ejus cauſæ ſecundo loco ratio habeatur, in cujus manu ſunt omnes victoriæ? . . . . An animus tuus tanti beneficii in Chriſti eccleſiam conſcius dubitare de victoria poſſit?*

Quirini, v. 1. *Ep. Poli Aloyſio Prioli*, p. 451.

2 *Ne dubitare quidem poſſum, multo graviora pati poſſe ſub hoc Occidentali Turca Chriſtianos, quam ſub Orientali, quanquam ſub utroque gravia, ſed hic gravior Chriſti hoſtis,*

ſubſequent behaviour will fully juſtify the ſeverity of this remark.

P. 131. 140 *Reginald's* hiſtorians are as much at a loſs to defend him from *the capital objection of a perſonal animoſity and ſpirit of revenge*, as ever *Pole* himſelf was. But if he was blameleſs in this reſpect, what occaſion had he to take ſo much pains to juſtify himſelf? If his reproof of *Henry* proceeded from love, how came his own friends to miſtake it for virulence? If he was wronged, by being charged with too much vehemence in this work, would he not have ſoftened his language, in the apology which he addreſſed to the Emperor ſome years afterwards? If the former treatiſe was written in the heat of paſſion and reſentment, by that time he might have cooled a little, and profited by advice and experience. But his implacable, revengeful malignity (for his perſeverance in theſe opprobrious reproaches of his ſovereign, cannot well be called by any other name) is expreſſed in that apology, in ſtill ſtronger terms.

Quirini, one of thoſe who will always have the laſt word, in ſome prefatory diſcourſes to the 3 firſt volumes of *Pole's* epiſtles, ' labours moſt ſtrenuouſly to vindicate

tis, qui nomen Chriſtiani tenens, in ſervos Chriſti ita ſævit.

Quirini, v. 2. *Ep. Reg. Poli Contareno*, p. 198.

1 *Epiſtola Schelhornii cum animadverſionibus*, in the 1ſt

and perhaps the only material,

Si de Regis potius excidio, quam salute cogitasset, cui bono tam acriter, tam amanter, tam prolixe pro Ejus ad Ecclesiam reditu in eo illo Libro peroraſset? — and again. Non quidem odii, sed contra flagrantissimi erga Henricum amoris fœtus, ad avertenda scilicet Regni pericula, quibus obnoxium

Se faceret, collimasse.

l truly, because

l^a great
l^a weak

l p xx vs. See also

l and again in his
[driven

him from this imputation. What others may call rancour and hatred, he ſays, is all love and mildneſs. How ſo? why there are many pious wiſhes for the King's reformation, in this and the other writings and letters of *Pole*. We believe *Pole* to be full as ~~weak~~ a bigot, as he was a reaſoner; and that he could at any time quiet his conſcience, by giving a pious turn to his venom. This is no uncommon, or extraordinary caſe.

The oration in the 3d book, *where the diſcourſe is turned from the King to the Emperor*, being looked upon as the moſt exceptionable part of the whole work, the cardinal thinks he has fully vindicated his favourite character, by ſaying, that if *Pole* intended the ruin, rather than the ſafety of the King, he would have ſent it directly to the Emperor, rather than to *Henry*;[1] and therefore it was only to forewarn him of the danger he was in, and kindly to ſhew him how to avoid it:[2] that is to ſay, in plain

P. 131, note.

1ſt volume, *Præfatio ad lectorem, & Epiſt. altera Schelhornii, cum animadverſionibus*, in the 2d volume. *Judicum Lipſienſe cum animadverſionibus*, in the 3d. *Quirini*, as well as *Pole*, was fond of writing, and never would give up a point. But he was ~~drove~~ hard in theſe animadverſions, and forced to repeat, over and over again, thoſe arguments, the ſubſtance of which Mr. *Phillips* has given, p. 132.

1 *Quirini*, v. 1. *Præf.* p. xxx.

2 Vid. ibid. *Præf.* p. LXII. & v. 2. In animad. in Epſ Schelhornii p 11 & ſeq.

and

Engliſh, *Pole* choſe to bully his Prince; and vainly thought, he would be moved by ſuch diſtant threats. But will this leſſen either the vanity, or the forwardneſs, of this young reprover? *As to the charge of hatred of his Prince; the reluctance he always ſhewed to any one ſeeing the work but Henry, is all the juſtification he can ſtand in need of*, in Mr. *Phillips's* opinion. If any marks of real love and duty appeared, we would liſten to this defence: but his actions and letters totally contradict it. Before this work was ſent to the King, beſides *Priuli* and *Contareni*, *the reviſers* of it *Beccatelli*,[1] and the arch-bp of *Naples*,[2] afterwards Pope *Paul* the 4th, and others, ſaw it: and the only reaſon, of *Pole's unwillingneſs of its being ſhewn to Clement the 7th*, was, leſt it ſhould come by any means to the King of *England's* ears.[3]

It was ſome few years after printed privately at *Rome*, when *Pole* was legate in *Spain*,[4] by order of the Pope, and advice and conſent of *Contareni:* and though great care was taken to conceal it, yet ſome copies of it got, very early, abroad; for *Damian a Goes* wrote to *Pole*, in 1540, from

1 Vid. Ibid. *Ep. Poli*, *Priolo*, p. 439.
2 Vid. v. 4. *Ep. Poli Magiſtro Sacri Palatii*, p. 92.
3 Vid. v. 1. *Ep. Poli*, *Priolo*, p. 443.
4 *A. D.* 1539, or 1540. *Quirini*, v. 1. pref. p. xix. *Diatriba*, p. 313. and v. 4. Ep. *Poli* --- p. 85.

Louvain

particular

him, for whose warning he writ it,

by the

written

Louvain, to beg a copy of him; telling him, that the only one which had found its way into *Flanders*, had fallen into the hands of the *Engliſh* reſident, and been burnt by him.[1] But notwithſtanding all the pains to ſuppreſs it, it could not be ſuppoſed, that a book wrote upon ſuch an occaſion, and by ſuch a perſon, could be kept an entire ſecret. It is rather aſtoniſhing, it could remain ſo long in private hands, conſidering the ſufficient authority we have for ſaying, that *Pole* was not at all ſhy of communicating it to choice and truſty friends. *Verger*, one as likely to know this fact as any body, being at that time a favourite of the court of *Rome*, and the *Pope's* Nuncio in *Germany*, tells us, "that he made "preſents of his book, to Popes, Cardinals, "Biſhops, Kings, and Princes, whom he

1 *Quirini*, v. 3. *Ep. Poli*, p. 37. How ſome of *Pole's* foreign friends fed themſelves with the hopes, either of the red hat's overſpreading, or perhaps that the triple crown might be united to, the imperial crown of *England*, we may gueſs from the curious concluſion of this letter of *a Goes* ---- *valebis ampliſſime Pole, quem, ſi in meis auguriis aliquid veri eſt, adhuc Regem Angliæ videbimus, quod cum evenerit, fac ut memor ſis noſtri, & prophetiæ noſtræ. Lovanii*, 12 *Octobris*, 154c. *A Goes's* zeal for his friend was pretty warm: and *Pole*, to do indeed, him juſtice, did not encourage his ſooth-ſaying correſpondent at all; but plainly told him, he believed his prayers would do him more good, than his predictions. Ibid. *Ep. Poli, a Goes*, p. 38.

"was

"was desirous to oblige."[1] *Sleidan* likewise, mentioning this book and the occasion of *Pole's* writing it, adds, "they say, he "printed his book at *Rome* at his own "charge, and ordering all the copies to be "brought to him, gave them out only to "the Pope and cardinals, and to his special "friends; for he was willing to stand fair "in their opinion, and was likewise afraid, "it's probable, of falling under the censure "of those, who had several times heard "him discourse very differently upon that "subject."[2] And this is moreover confirmed, from the frequent mention there is made of this book, in very many letters which passed between *Pole* and several of his friends, and the prolix account given of it, to some of his correspondents, long before *Verger* published it.

P. 131. note. / 149 Mr. *Phillips* tells us, that *Verger procured a copy of the work, . . . and published it with the most virulent notes. His chief invectives*, he adds, *have no other foundation than his own mistake. Reginald, in the third book, turns his discourse from the King to the Emperor, and continues, through several pages, in this figure; and Verger represents this diversion of speech as a separate work*, &c.

1 --- *mercatus gratiam his exemplaribus a Pontificibus, Cardinalibus, Episcopis, Regibus atque Principibus quibus placere studuit. Præf. ad opus Poli*, &c. p. 2.

2 *Sleidan*, B. 10. p. 210.

This

This it is to write at random. From this account, we are pretty ſure, that Mr. *Phillips* hath never ſeen either of the books that *Verger* publiſhed upon this occaſion: nor indeed did he ſufficiently attend to the information *Quirini* could have given him, who clearly diſtinguiſhes between them both.[1] The firſt book (if a ſmall pamphlet may be called a book) that *Verger* publiſhed, was that addreſs or oration to the Emperor, by itſelf; which, ſo far from *repreſenting as a ſeparate work*, that in the very title page, he expreſſly aſſerts the contrary, ſaying that it was *extracted from it*.[2] At the end of the dedication, wherein he charges *Pole* with once favouring their doctrine, he tells his friend, he will ſhortly ſend him the whole work from whence he took this oration.[3]. Then follow ſome ſevere and ſarcaſtical notes or ſcholia, chiefly reflecting upon the ſuppoſed incongruity of

1 *Quirini*, v. 1. *Diat.* p. 324.

2 The title runs thus, *Oratio Reginaldi Poli, &c. --- excerpta ex ejus libris, quibus titulum fecit, pro unitatis eccleſiaſticæ defenſione, cum ſcholiis Athanaſii. A.D.* 1554. A thin 4to. containing not many pages.

3 It is dedicated thus. *Athanaſius N. Paſtori Auguſtano — Scio cardinalem Polum . . . . ſe non abhorrere a noſtra doctrina, atque hoc ipſa re declaraturum dixiſſe, ſi comitia celebrentur. . . . unde poſſis judicium facere, quam peritum artificem in diſſimulando habueris ſub tuo tecto, &c. Brevi mittam ad te totum eum librum, ex quo orationem deſcripſi.*

Pole's

Pole's profeſſion and behaviour. The next year (1555) *Verger* was as good as his word, and publiſhed the whole work; and *commented on it*, ſays our knowing author, *with all the acrimony of an adverſary*. But he did not learn this from *Quirini*, in the place from whence he took, what, by ſtopping in the middle of a ſentence, he is pleaſed to call, an *advantageous teſtimony of the performance:* whereas the cloſe of that ſentence gives quite another turn to it, and is far from being a compliment, either to the honour or the honeſty of *Pole*. [1] ~~And moreover~~ the cardinal is ~~there~~ cenſuring *Verger* for the bitter conſtruction he made of *Pole's* care to conceal the publication of his book; and referreth his reader to *Verger's* preface to that work, which, he ſays, he printed *cum Antidotis*, [2] (which Mr. *Phillips* ſeemeth to miſtake for *Notes*) exhibiting as a proof of *Verger's* invectives, *that very paſ-*

P. 134 note. 152

1 *Scripſit hic libros quatuor de unitate eccleſiaſtica: in hos quicquid unquam ab ullo ſcriptum pro pontifice acute & callide & ſubtiliter fuit, undique congeſſit, magnis eloquentiæ luminibus*, non ad veritatis lucem, ſed ad tegumentum mendaciorum, per ſummam fraudem atque malitiam. *Verg. Præf.* p. 2. cited by *Quir.* v. 1. *Diat.* p. 374.

2 *Quo magis candide, quo magis pacate a Polo iſta narrantur de cura a ſe ſuſcepta in celando libro ſuo . . . . . eo acerbiorem, eo virulentiorem Vergerii de eodem argumento orationem reperiri in præfatione quam iſte appoſuit libro Poli a ſe* cum Antidotis, *anno* 1555 *Argentorati evulgato.* Vid. ibid.

ſage,

/ Intelligence,

^ Moreover
^ in that very Passage here ~~appealed to~~
[own

This is so far from being
the truth

"exercise or prolusion, rather than the
"~~judgement~~ performance of a mature
and well-weighed judgement."

Opinion

ſage, which our *Engliſh* writer, by curtailing it, would impoſe upon his readers, as *an advantageous teſtimony, from an adverſary, of the performance.*

† So far from it, that it appears from this and other places of the preface, that *Verger* had really a contemptible opinion of it, and looked upon it as a very ſhallow *performance.* He ſaith, "that *Pole* hath "urged no new arguments: that he hath "indeed ſome ſtrokes of oratory, not of "ſenſe to add *weight* to his concluſions, "but of words only, taken from the ſhops "of rhetoricians, to fill the ear, but not "convince the judgment; and they ap-"plied in ſuch a manner, as to give it the "air of a juvenile, more than a grave per-"formance." *Verger's* judgment of this verboſe flimſy work, is, we ſee the ſame, in other words, with that of *Burnet:* and ſo unfortunate is Mr. *Phillips* in appealing to

1 *In hoc libro legendo, animadverti, Polum nullo argumento uti, quo non ſint uſi in concludendo alii, neque ullum telum emittere, quod non jactum ſit a reliquis, qui Papatum defenderunt. Ornamenta quædam attulit, non ſententiarum, quæ pondus afferant concluſionibus, ſed verborum e Sophiſtarum officinis, quæ aures impleant, non ſatisfaciant mentibus eorum, qui legunt, & ea ipſa ita adhibita ſunt, ut magis exercitationis, cujuſdam juvenilis videantur, quam ſeriæ actionis.* --- He had before made this remark, *Polus, omnia ſua levia & anilia argumenta, tanquam fucoſo auro, ſic verborum inflato ornatu, in quibus veritas occultaretur, mendacium defenderetur, in vulgus prodere conatus eſt, &c. Verger. Præf.* p. 3.

the

the teſtimony of the former, that, we fear, he will hardly eſcape the cenſure of being an ignorant, as well as a falſe and *bold aſſertor*. For this is not the only blunder he makes concerning *Verger*, or his writings.

P. 131. note. He had told us before, that *Verger publiſhed* the work on the church's unity *with the moſt virulent notes*. He did not. He publiſhed it *without any notes at all*. Nor P. 131. did he then make any objection to *Pole's animoſity and ſpirit of revenge* againſt *Henry*: for there he takes no notice at all of it. The virulent notes, he might have learned from *Quirini*,[1] were not added to the work; but were thoſe few inſerted at the end of the oration when he publiſhed it by itſelf: afterwards, when the whole came out, it was printed without any notes at all. There was indeed a ſharp preface prefixed to it, but in that, *Verger* took no notice of any difference between *Pole* and *Henry*, it was not neceſſary, as he had done it before. He only "reproached *Reginald* for his paltry and "diſingenuous behaviour in diſperſing his "book with ſuch privacy, that no copies "could be procured to expoſe the venom

1 *Polus exeruit pariter Chriſtianum zelum in oratione ad Carolum Cæſarem . . . quamque typis edendam curavit, adjunctis virulentiſſimis ſcholiis, an.* 1554. *ſub Athanaſii nomine latens, Petrus Paulus Vergerius, quod paulo poſt de toto opere (non ſine antidotis ait ipſe) pariter præſtitit.* *Quirini*, v. 1. p. 324. See alſo, p. 374.

"of

λ personal

& in all his ~~Writings~~ Publications,

" of it: that difficulty being got over," he ſays, "he found it did not anſwer expec-" tation. Inſtead of being a formidable de-" fence, it was an empty nothing: he was " therefore willing to exhibit it to the world " as an harmleſs performance. But to pre-" vent its doing any miſchief to ignorant " perſons, or thoſe not uſed to ſuch kind " of writings, he had, by way of antidote, " added ſome treatiſes written upon the ſame " ſubject by *Luther* and other learned men; " by which they might be enabled to trace " the riſe and progreſs of the papal power." This is the ſubſtance of the preface: and thoſe treatiſes of *Luther*, and ſome other reforming divines, are publiſhed, as well as *Pole's* book, without any notes or remarks whatever.

Mr. *Phillips* proceeds on in the ſame note, and ſays, *the argument* (of *Pole's* diſloyal animoſity, I ſuppoſe) *was taken up, about 25 years ago, though with much more decency, by Schelhorn, public profeſſor at Hamburg.* *Schelhorn* calls himſelf, and ſo doth *Quirini* ſtyle him, *Eccleſiaſta & Bibliothecarius Memingenſis.* But how Mr. *Phillips* came to remove and ſend him to *Hamburgh*, I know not; for, if living, I believe, he is ſtill reſident at *Memingen.* And the argument he took up, was managed by him with very great ability, and very great candour, in a long and accurate hiſtory of this P. 131/149.

this work of *Pole* on the church's unity;[1] and afterwards in a controverſy with *Quirini*,[2] whoſe invincible obſtinacy, and overbearing method of arguing, ſo confounded the modeſt *Schelhorn*, that ſeeing no end of ſuch a diſpute, he fairly gave up the point, being equally tired of the conteſt and the adverſary.

To make the note compleat, our author goes on in the ſame careleſs, blundering manner; and informs us, that *Gardiner, Tonſtal, and Sampſon attacked the dogmatical part of the work, and the two laſt, with Stokeſley, beſtowed abuſe, very liberally, on the author.* Where did Mr. *Phillips* learn all this? He had it not from *Quirini*: tho' it is true, he does name them all together in one place; but not ſo much as adverſaries of *Pole*, as of his cauſe; and as inferior in worth to *More, Fiſher*, and *Warham*.[3] Our author's memory, we fear, hath here failed him a little: and he forgetteth what, ſome pages back, he himſelf had

P. 131. note. / 149

1 *Hiſtoria operis, quod Reginaldus Polus adverſus Henricum VIII. Angliæ Regem pro unitatis eccleſiaſticæ defenſione olim conſcripſit.*

Amœn. hiſt. eccleſ. & Litt. tom. 1. p. 1. *&c.*

2 Prefixed to *Quirini's* firſt and ſecond volume.

3 *Si equidem cauſæ adverſarios, cum laudatiſſimis ipſius patronis, comparandos, nanciſci valuiſſet, Gardinerius, Tunſtallus, Stokeſleius, Sampſon, nimis quam diſtant a Mori, Fiſcheri, & Varami præſtantia.*

Quirini, v. 1. *Diat.* p. 366.

aſſerted

* Mr P mistake was plainly owing to his having the following Passage in Quirini before him, when he made this assertion, tho' he neither attended to the sense of it at ye time, nor to what he ~~of~~ had before said about it himself. Extant, (says Quirini) Poli operi opposite Lucubrationes Cuthberti Tunstalli, Dunelmensis Episcopi, Johannis Stokesleii, Episcopi Londinensis (re memorem Stephanum Gardinerium, Praesulem Wintoniensem, quippe qui pro regia quidem causa scripsit, at

Poli opere nondum viso, nec etiam
Ricardum Sampsonem Episcopum
Cicestriensem, quem opere illo suo Polus
confutandum suscepit.) Petri Pauli Vergerii,
Johannis Sturmii, & aliorum.
v. s. Diat. p 248

[1] whose work on the Church's unity was written purposely to confute Sampson's Book or Oration upon the King's Supremacy; he therefore and Gardiner [2] our Historian

asserted from his own oracle,[1] that *Sampson's and Gardiner's treatises* were prior to *Pole's*; [therefore they] could not well attack the dogmatical part of a work, which was not perhaps, when they wrote their books, so much as thought of. And if he will deign to look into *Tonstal's* and *Stokesley's* letters, now he knows where to find them, he will see in them *no abuse at all*, but great friendship, great tenderness, and sound reasoning, thrown away upon the obstinate and inflexible *Pole*.

Verger, having been thus instrumental in the publication of this work *on the church's unity*, we will add a few lines concerning this memorable personage. He was bishop of *Justinople* or *Capo d' Istria* in *Italy*, and had been employed for many years by Pope *Clement* the 7th, and his successor *Paul* the 3d, as their Nuncio in *Germany*.[2] He had been at *Augsbourg*, at *Worms*, at *Prague*, at *Naples*, and other places, to treat with the Emperor, and the reformed Princes and States, about religious matters, and the calling of a council; and was in those interviews and conferences, a very able and active instrument in the Pope's behalf; who was dissuaded from rewarding his services, as

1 *Quirini*, v. 1. p. 260. 261. & 308.

2 *Vergerius cujus sedula opera Clemens 7, ac Paulus 3, per Germaniam usi fuerant, vir magnæ doctrinæ & Ferdinando Regi . . . valde carus.*

Thuanus, L. 5. *A. D.* 1548.

he intended, by advancing him to the purple, upon this ſuggeſtion, that he had been ſo long and ſo often in *Germany*, that he was become a *Lutheran*. *Verger*, to wipe off this aſperſion, was deſirous to prove his orthodoxy, by writing againſt the apoſtates of *Germany*. This obliged him to converſe as much with their books as a divine, as he had done before with their perſons, in the character of a ſtateſman. He ſoon found the difficulties of what he had undertaken. Surpriſed and confounded at the ſtrength and ſolidity of the reformers reaſonings, he was convinced by the force of thoſe arguments, he could not ſatisfactorily anſwer; and became, by degrees, a convert to thoſe very principles, which he had at firſt ſat down to confute. The vigilance of inquiſitors ſoon diſcovered, or ſuſpected, his change of opinion; and obliged him to fly from his dioceſe. The council of *Trent* being then met, the biſhop went there to vindicate himſelf; but as ſo great a crime as hereſy was objected againſt him, he was, by the Pope's expreſs orders, neither permitted to take his place there, nor to juſtify himſelf. Theſe and other indignities being offered to him, he retired firſt to *Padua*, where being a witneſs of the deplorable end of the deſpairing *Spira*, he was ſo greatly affected with that ſhocking ſcene (an account of which he ſoon after publiſhed) that,

that, never to experience ſuch dreadful agonies of a guilty conſcience for denying the truth, he fully reſolved to leave his country, and friends, and all that he had; and go where he might ſafely profeſs and teach that doctrine, which, upon the moſt rational inquiry, and cleareſt conviction, he ſaw moſt agreeable to the goſpel of Chriſt. Leaving *Italy*, he went firſt to the *Griſons*, where he preached for ſome years in the *Valteline*; till he was called, by the Duke of *Wittenburgh*, to *Tubingen*; where he ſpent the remainder of his days, in doing ſervice to that cauſe, which, upon the nobleſt motives of religion and conſcience, he had ſo ſincerely embraced, by writing and tranſlating books to ſtrengthen and ſupport it.[1]

Pole, in the work we have been conſidering, hath made the execution of *More* and *Fiſher*, one great topic of his invective againſt the King. His biographer, after repeating what is ſaid of them in the apology to the Emperor, diſplays his own eloquence, in illuſtrating the character of the one, and bemoaning the fate of the other. *Sir Tho-* P. 115./130

1 *Sleidan*, B. 21. p. 475 --- 477. *Seckendorf*, L. 3. p. 95 ----- 98. And again, p. 601. *Pallavicini*, L. 6. c. 13. ſect. 3. & L. 15. c. 10. ſect. 13, 14. Father *Paul*, B. 2. p. 154. And *Verheiden* (p. 152) *Adamus* (p. 116) *inter vitas Theol. exter.* *Bayle* (article *Verger*) *Clarke* (p. 676) and *Fuller* (p. 288) have, all of them, given a ſhort detail of *Verger*, in their collection of lives.

mas More, he ſays, *was one of the greateſt ornaments, if not the greateſt, in every kind of various excellence, this nation has ever boaſted.* We do not deſire to leſſen the high encomiums beſtowed upon either of theſe worthies. It is impoſſible to juſtify all *Henry's* rigorous proceedings againſt *More*, and his aſſociate in affliction, the biſhop of *Rocheſter*. There might poſſibly be ſome provocation, to us unknown, which irritated an inflammable tyrant, to proſecute with unrelenting ſeverity, thoſe whom he formerly held ſo dear to him. They were conſidered as the heads of the papal and imperial parties in *England:* and the King might deem it neceſſary to confirm his new made laws, by ſacrificing to them two ſuch eminent and reſpectable opponents. They were indeed hardly and cruelly dealt with. In contemplating their characters, we are heartily ſorry to find any thing that can leſſen their juſt reputation. But who can help regretting, that *More*, with all his excellent abilities, and liberal way of thinking, ſhould condeſcend to be the tool of bigots; ſhould learn to rail and revile for the honour of religion; and that all the amiable accompliſhments of his younger years, ſhould, in the latter part of his life, be loſt in a narrow, ſuperſtitious turn of mind? Who could think, that the free and ſprightly writer of the *Utopia*, ſhould be

ſo

4 †. See a very particular account of this pretended Visionary, & her Feats, in Strype's Mem: V. I. p 176 & seq. Burnet, V. I. p 149-153. Carte, V. 3. p 123. 124.

ſo much devoted to the violent churchmen of thoſe days, as to become a perſecutor, and to glory in being the plague of hereticks? nay he was ſo carried away with his prejudices, as ſeriouſly to defend himſelf for them, and that too in a letter to *Eraſmus*;[1] who would not think the better of him, for indulging in himſelf that bitter, perſecuting ſpirit, which is equally a diſgrace to religion and humanity. We have before noted ſome inſtances of his activity in "promoting inquiſitions and cru-"elties, ſcarce to be reconciled with what "is ſaid of the humanity of his nature.[2]" "*Ovid* has two lines which characterize, "and ſuit him, as if they were made for "him,

Cæpiſti melius, quam deſinis: ultima primis
Cedunt: diſſimilis hic vir, & ille puer.
Ep. IX. 23."[3]

The biſhop of *Rocheſter* had been much deceived in his tamperings and correſpondence with the *Holy Maid of Kent*; and had thereby given *Henry* greater advantages over him, than the more cautious Sir *Thomas More*. There was no doubt, but the

1 *Quod in epitaphio profiteor hæreticis me fuiſſe moleſtum, hoc ambitioſe feci. Nam omnino ſic illud hominum genus odi, ut illis, niſi reſipiſcant, tam inviſus eſſe velim, quam cui maxime, quippe quos indies magis atque magis experior tales, ut mundo ab illis vehementer metuam.*
Morus Eraſmo. Eraſ. Ep. L. 27. p. 1076.

2 *Carte*, v. 3. p. 131.

3 *Jortin's Eraſmus*, v. 1. p. 192.

artful

artful managers of that Nun's tricks and revelations, did it with a view to foment a rebellion; and were desirous of having their infamous scheme countenanced, by some persons of real and indisputable worth. Amongst others, they imposed upon the credulous age of the well-meaning *Fisher*, whom they drew into their snare: and nothing but obstinacy, too often the attendant upon years, was the occasion of his ruin. *Cromwell* in a long letter to him, wherein he candidly proved his insufficient exculpation of himself, [1] with a tenderness and humanity which did him honour, took the trouble to inform, and the pains to persuade him to it, that any kind of submission to the King would insure his pardon. [2] The bishop, by not hearkening to this friendly and salutary advice, must be greatly answerable for the sad consequences that followed. But it was the folly and the vanity of the Pope, in sending him a red hat, that most of all contributed to hasten the end of that life by a violent death, which otherwise, in the course of nature, could not have held out much longer.

1 *Burnet* ~~hist. Ref.~~ v. 1. p. 153, 154. *Collier* eccl. hist. v. 2. p. 97. who has given *Fisher's* defence of himself, in his letter to the house of lords, p. 87. of the same volume.

2 *Burnet*, ~~hist. Ref.~~ v. 1. Records, p. 123.

For

For a proof of *Fiſher's great knowledge*, we are referred to a ſpeech he made upon the ſubject and *caſe of the ſupremacy*, — *and preſerved by Lord Herbert*. But if this was all the proof of his *great knowledge*, we ſhould be to ſeek for it elſewhere. For, as it contains only ſome hackneyed, ſtale arguments, and groundleſs aſſertions, and calleth the Pope's court a kind of chancery to all other courts of juſtice, there is nothing worthy of notice in it. But moreover, Lord *Herbert* doth not relate it for biſhop *Fiſher's*, or give the leaſt reaſon to think it was his.[1] Mr. *Dod*, with more modeſty than our writer, contents himſelf with ſaying, "that ſome aſcribe this remarkable "ſpeech to biſhop *Fiſher*."[2] P. 118. /134/ note

The authority of *Fuller's* church hiſtory is appealed to, for *a very circumſtantial and intereſting account of the biſhop's execution*. *Fuller* is indeed very minute and particular in the relation he hath given of this fact. But let *Fuller* ſpeak for himſelf; and declare from what quarter he had his intelligence, and how little it was to be depended upon. Having been favoured with a MS life of *Fiſher*, he was willing to com- P. 119. /16. note.

1 Lord *Herbert's* words are, one of the councel, who much favoured the papal Authority, ſpake in this manner --- naming no one. p. 390.

2 *Dod's* church hiſtory, p. 95.

municate

municate the contents of it to the public, "the rather" ſays he, "becauſe I collected "the ſame out of his MS life, compiled by "*Richard Hall*, of *Chriſt*-Colledge in *Cam-* "*bridge*. — Only be it premiſed, that the "ſame *Hall* was a ſtiff *Roman* catholick, and "therefore accordingly muſt abatement be "made in his relations." [1] "A book, (ſays "he in another place,) which when lately "in *manuſcript*, I then more prized for the "*rarity*, then ſince it is now printed I truſt "for the *verity* thereof. [2]" And when he cometh to his author's tale concerning the *inſults* ſaid to be offered to his body, *Fuller* ſaith, "It will hardly enter into my be- "lief. Beſides, ſeeing the King vouchſafed "him a noble priſon, and an honourable "death, it is improbable he would deny "him a neceſſary equipage for a plain and "private burial. Wherefore — I liſten to the "*relation* as inflamed by the reporter's *paſ-* "*ſion*." [3] The indignities, this ſcribler talks of, are mentioned by no other writer. *Pole*, *Sanders*, *Gratiani*, and *Harpsfield*, who would have rejoiced at ſuch a ſubject of re-

1 *Fuller's* church hiſt. B. 5, p. 202.

2 His hiſtory of *Cambridge*, p. 99.

This MS life of *Fiſher* hath been ſince publiſhed, and is that *wretched romance*, entitled *the life of the renowned John Fiſher, &c. by Thomas Bailey, D. D.* whoſe name it bears inſtead of *Hall* the real writer.

v. *Wood. Athen. Oxon.* 2d ed. v. 1. p. 569.

3 *Fuller's* church hiſt. B. 5. p. 205.

proaching

proaching *Henry* for his barbarities, being ſilent about them, we may venture to pronounce them abſolute falſhoods.

There is nothing more contradictory to the laws of hiſtory, than to write with a prejudiced and paſſionate attachment to particular perſons or opinions. He who induſtriouſly catches at every occaſion to expreſs private malignity and malevolence; and he who wilfully ſuppreſſes every circumſtance which would give a favourable conſtruction to the actions of thoſe, whoſe perſons and whoſe party he diſlikes; may be ſaid to write, not ſo much with a view to inform and convince others of the truth, as to gratify the reſentment of private ſpleen and animoſity. To enter thus into the conduct of former times, with that keenneſs and aſperity, which can hardly be juſtified even in perſonal altercations, is not the way *to cover heats*, but *to ſpread and perpetuate them.* Pt. 2d. P. 166.

Mr. *Phillips* hath drawn the character of the unfortunate *Anne Bullen*, not with the coolneſs of a writer of the preſent times, but with a virulence, becoming only the malicious invectives of the railing *Sanders*, and the tatling *Gratiani*. Forgetting the regard due to himſelf and his reader, he deſcendeth to ſuch baſe ſlanders, as are equally offenſive to religion, to good-nature, to humanity. And what were *Anne's* peculiar

culiar offences, which, at this diſtance of time, could occaſion ſuch a torrent of rancorous abuſe? Was ſhe the cauſe of *Catherine's* divorce? was it not begun before ſhe entertained the leaſt ſuſpicion of the King's regard for her? When the learned throughout *Europe*, when men of the greateſt eminence at home, condemned *Henry's* marriage with his brother's widow, and wiſhed for the diſſolution of it; nay, when the Pope himſelf allowed it diſputable by entering into the merits of it,[1] where was the offence, or where the ſcandal, if a lady liſtened to the declarations of an honeſt love? What young mind could well withſtand the honourable offers of a great King? Was there not another lady of high rank talked of for the King, and whom *Wolſey* had recommended to him, before *Anne Bullen* had even appeared at court?[2] But ſomething muſt be ſaid to ſtigmatize the rival and ſucceſſor of *Catherine*.

The account that our biographer hath given *of this unfortunate woman*, as he calleth her, is taken, for the moſt part, from that trifling collector of hear-ſay ſtories, *Gratiani* biſhop of *Amelia*; whoſe florid embelliſhments of the queen's execution

P. 125, note. 142

1 *Clarke fidelis ſervi ſubdito infideli reſponſio*, p. 40 ---- 46. *Carte*, v. 3. p. 84. *Heylin's* hiſt. of queen *Elizabeth*, p. 87. *Rapin*, v. 1. p. 775. *Hume's Tudors*, v. 5. p. 151.

ſtriking

Lt Margarett Dutchess Dowager of alançon
Sister to the King of France.

Lt Mary p 4.3 of Queen

ſtriking the gay fancy of Mr. *Phillips*, he hath adopted for his reader's entertainment. But not thinking this ſufficient authority, he hath ventured expreſly to appeal to *Sanders*, and the bulk of *our hiſtorians*, who *in general*, he ſays, *agree in the character* he hath drawn of *Anne Bullen*. The extreme malignity of *Sanders's* diſpoſition rendereth him an exceptionable witneſs: and one, who would not ſay it, if he could help it, makes this juſt and ſoft remark upon him, "that to fail both in truth "and temper, is too common with him."[2] His evidence, as a deteſtable liar, is therefore poſitively rejected. And what ſay the other vouchers? *Stowe* ſays, "when the "queen was arraigned within the *Tower*, "ſhe made ſo wiſe and diſcrete anſwers that "ſhe ſeemed fully to clear herſelf of all "matters laid to her charge, but being "found guilty, judgment was pronounced "on her."[3] *Godwin* making reflections upon this *memorable cataſtrophe*, as Mr. *Phillips* calls it, ſays, "an act of parliament a-"gainſt her ſhall not work on my belief."[4] *Fuller* tells us, "in the ſentence of divorce,

P. 145. in note.

1 *Gratianus de caſibus virorum illuſtrium. De quatuor Britanniæ reginis*, p. 263.

2 *Collier*, v. 2. p. 87.

3 *Stowe*, p. 572. To the ſame effect Sir *R. Baker* in his chronicle, p. 283.

4 *Godwin's* annals, 1536, p. 82.

"no

" no particular cauſe is ſpecified. Sure I am, " there is no daſhing on the credit of the " lady, nor any the leaſt inſinuations of in- " chaſtity in it. — Her greateſt guilt was, " the King's better fancying of another, " which made him, the next day after her " death, to mourn ſo paſſionately for her, in " the embraces of a new bride."[1] *Hume* ſays, "Her innocence cannot reaſonably be " called in queſtion. — The whole tenour " of her conduct forbids us to aſcribe to her " an abandoned character, ſuch as is im- " plied in the King's accuſation, and had " ſhe been ſo loſt to all prudence, and ſenſe " of ſhame, ſhe muſt have expoſed herſelf " to detection, and afforded her enemies " the cleareſt evidence againſt her."[2] Lord *Herbert* adds, " thus ended this queen la- " mented by many, both as ſhe was de- " ſirous to advance learned men, and as ſhe " was a great alms-giver."[3] And to this purpoſe do *our hiſtorians in general* agree in their repreſentations of this unfortunate queen's hard fate.[4]

1 *Fuller's* church hiſtory, B. 5. p. 207, 208.

2 *Hume's* Tudors, v. 1. Qto. p. 202 ----- 209. and p. 248.

3 Lord *Herbert*, p. 446 --- 450.

4 *Heylin* Ref. hiſtory of *Elizabeth*, p. 91 ----- 95. *Carte*, v. 3. p. 133. *Collier*, v. 2. p. 116 --- 118. *Burnet*, v. 1. p. 196 ----- 207. and v. 3. p. 118 ---- 120. *Echard*, v. 1. p. 685. *Rapin*, v. 1. p. 810 ---- 812. *Speed*, p. 1030 --- 1032.

From

/. In the Palace of Durazzo at Genoa are many fine Paintings, amongst the most remarkable of them, is a very curious & valuable Piece of Queen Anne Bullen, which is said to be very much like her, & if so, She was certainly one of the finest Women that ever was ~~born~~ born; this Picture being extremely beautiful, & having an inexpressible Sweetness in its Looks.

Extract from a Mss Journal of the Travels of ye Late learned Mr Swinton.

From an impartial review of the relation which theſe ſeveral hiſtorians give of the fall of *Anne Bullen*, there does not appear any real foundation for the grievous crimes with which ſhe was charged. The utmoſt that can fairly be alledged againſt her, is, that through the gaiety and openneſs of a youthful levity, owing in a great meaſure to a *French* education, ſhe "either took "or permitted liberties, which gave offence "to an impetuous huſband, who had pride "enough to make him the moſt jealous of "mortals, and the moſt furious in his jea-"louſy. And her enemies taking notice "of every little indiſcretion of hers, im-"proved it to raiſe in the King ſuſpicions "of her virtue." [1] The greateſt proof of which was, that in the preſence of many, her brother preſumed to whiſper ſomething in her ear, when ſhe was in bed, which was to the ſlander of the iſſue begotten between the King and her. And this was all the proof that could be procured of this innocent queen's inceſt and adultery. It is no wonder, if ſo ſudden and unexpected a fall, when a crime of ſuch horrid guilt was objected againſt her, brought on, with great violence, thoſe hyſterical diſorders ſo common to her ſex: and yet, when in the moſt deſponding ſtate, and when moſt oppreſſed

1 *Carte*, v. 3. p. 133.

with

with theſe vapours, (though ſhe ſometimes confeſſed ſome unguarded expreſſions, which diſcovered more ſprightlineſs than diſcretion, but nothing of a criminal tendency) ſhe conſtantly, and upon all occaſions, perſevered to vindicate her innocence, and her virtue.

Gratiani ſays, that the Queen's brother, and the other priſoners upon her account, were tortured into a confeſſion of her crimes[1]. But this, and many other circumſtances mentioned by him, are mere fictions invented to dreſs up a romantic narration. *Norris*, one of theſe unhappy ſufferers, nobly rejected the offers of life and pardon, upon the ignominious terms of accuſing her; which he refuſed to do, as believing her in his conſcience to be innocent. And though ſomething is ſaid to have been confeſſed, in hopes of pardon, by *Smeton*, to the prejudice of the queen's honour and chaſtity, which ſome of our hiſtorians have too haſtily caught, and as haſtily reported; yet, if we may credit *Cromwell's* letter to the King from the *Tower*, when he and ſome of the council were ſent thoroughly to ſift and examine the priſoners: "many things, (ſays he in that letter) have been

1 *Comprehenſi ſtatim Georgius Annæ frater, reliquique, & pro magnitudine flagitii acriter torti, de ſe quiſque eſt confeſſus, & continuo omnes merito ſupplicio ſunt traditi.*
Gratianus de caſ. Vir. ill. p. 269.

" ob-

their

on her

† Some of our Historians have seemed to countenance this relation of Gratiani, of a ~~crowd~~ crowd at the time & place of the Queen's Execution: but it was, certainly, only a Crowd of those, who by their Office were obliged to attend there. Thus tho' Lord Herbert says (p 449) a great Company, yet he immediately declares, that all Strangers were removed. Godwin (p 81) says, indeed, some of ye Nobility & Companies of the City being admitted, but, rather to be Witnesses than Spectators of her death. so too says Heylin (2d Elizabeth p 93)

"objected, but nothing confeſſed, only ſome "circumſtances have been acknowledged "by *Mark*."[1] But what theſe circumſtances were, we are ſtill to learn; for *Smeton* was never confronted with her, or any uſe made of his evidence at her trial; and he (as well as the reſt) loſt his life, to procure ſome credit to the defamation.

The crowd, ſays Mr. *Phillips*, *that thronged to the place of execution, gazed with unconcern:* — and ſo ſays *Gratiani* too. But if this be true, then Sir *William Kingſton* the lieutenant of the *Tower*, who attended the execution, muſt be miſtaken: for he ſays in a letter to *Cromwell*, giving an account of the Queen's behaviour at her execution, "that there were not above thirty ſtran-"gers; and not many others." And this was Sir *William's* advice, who thought that a reaſonable number was beſt, as he found, ſhe would declare herſelf to be a good woman, for all men, but for the King, at the hour of death.[2] Mr. *Strype*, from ſome original letters of Sir *William Kingſton*, "has been enabled to repreſent matters con-"cerning this queen in her afflictions more "largely, exactly and diſtinctly," than moſt other writers: and to ~~whom~~ him we refer, that

P. 124. / 141 /

/

him /

1 *Heylin* Ref. hiſt. of *Eliz.* p. 92.
2 Ibid. p. 93. *Burnet*, v. 1. p. 204. *Strype's* mem. v. 1. p. 280. *Herbert*, p. 449.

we ſwell not this article to any unneceſſary length, by dwelling farther upon it.

The biſhop of *Meaux*, whoſe leaſt fault it is to miſrepreſent his authorities, has, in recording this event, exhibited a genuine picture of catholic bigotry. He ſays, "the "unfortunate *Anne Bullen*, hoped to ſoften "the King, by confeſſing every thing, he "would have her, but this confeſſion ſaved "her only from being burnt;" referring his reader to biſhop *Burnet* for his voucher, as if it was taken from him, and his words uſed. Whereas *Burnet's* own words are theſe, that the Queen, "had either ſome hopes of "life given her, or was wrought upon by the "aſſurances of mitigating that cruel part of "her judgment, of being burnt, into the "milder part of the ſentence, of having her "head cut off; ſo that ſhe confeſſed," (not every thing the King would have her, for ſhe never would acknowledge any guilt, but only,) "a pre-contract."[2] *Boſſuet* goes on: "ſhe comforted herſelf upon the day of "execution, when ſhe heard the execu-"tioner was an expert one, but I, addeth "ſhe, have a very little neck. At the "ſame time, ſays the witneſs of her death, "ſhe put her hands round it, and laughed

1 *Strype's* memorials, v. 1. p. 280 ---- 284.
2 *Burnet*, Ref. v. 1 p. 203.

"very

~~Lat~~ who expressly declares, that only some few were permitted to be present.

[illegible] uncandid & unchristian

[illegible] reasons obvious

"very heartily." Upon which this *French* biſhop makes this ~~candid and chriſtian~~ remark, "now whether, ſays he, this was "done through the oſtentation of an af-"fected intrepidity, or that her head was "turned at the approaches of death; how-"ever this be, it ſeems, as if God would "have it, that dreadful as the end of this "Princeſs was, it ſhould have a mixture in "it of the ridiculous, as well as of the tra-"gic."[1] The place referred to is a paſſage in Sir *William Kingſton's* letter to *Cromwell*, which *Burnet* has inſerted in his hiſtory.[2] The biſhop of *Meaux*, like a true controverſialiſt, ſtoppeth ſhort in the middle of the letter, to give vent to his preſumptuous judgment, and wilfully to keep his readers in ignorance of what immediately follows. For thus does Sir *William* go on, "I have "ſeen many men, and alſo women exe-"cuted; and that they have been in great "ſorrow, and to my knowledge this lady "has much joy and pleaſure in death." But why did the biſhop ſtop ſo ſoon, and not add this? for ~~obvious reaſons~~ enough: that none of his perſuaſion might have any favourable opinion of her innocency, or her piety. To prevent this, he

1 *Boſſuet Hiſtoire des variations des Egliſes proteſtants*, v. 1. p. 298.

2 *Burnet*, Ref. v. 1. p. 204.

artfully diverts them; and by a grave reflection, looking upon laughter as vain, and inconſiſtent with her condition, he will not let her aſhes reſt in peace, without adding ſcorn to cruelty; not aware, that injured innocence, at the concluſion of afflictions, may well be chearful. How elſe will he defend Sir *Thomas More's* behaviour; whoſe facetiouſneſs attended him to the ſcaffold, where he joked upon the loyalty of his beard?[2]

P. 123. 140 Mr. *Phillips*, to reproach this Queen, informeth us, *ſhe had imbibed the doctrine of Calvin*. If ſo, it muſt be either by intuition or inſpiration: for that reformer was, at the time of her execution, a very young man, and hardly known. But ſhe ſoon left him, it ſeems, for the more comfortable P. 124. doctrine of *Luther*,[1] who *licenſed polygamy*.[2] But *Anne* did not want his licence:

1 *Anne Bullen* was born in 1507. *John Calvin* in 1509. the firſt ſyſtematical book he publiſhed in divinity was his *Inſtitutions*, which were firſt printed, either in 1534, or 1535: ſo that ſhe could not well have been his diſciple, and left him for the more *commodious* doctrine of *Luther*. If Mr. *Phillips* meant any reflection, he might better have ſaid, ſhe was firſt a diſciple of *Zuinglius*, and deſerted him for *Luther*, as they were cotemporary reformers.

2 This is that triumphant objection, ſo often urged by the enemies of *Luther*, *his licenſing polygamy in favour of the Landgrave of Heſſe*. But this is an objection, not ſo much againſt the doctrine of the reformation, as againſt the private opinion of *Luther*, in a caſe of conſcience

X: this

for he, to whom *the lawgiver of Chriſtianity* had *committed* his authority, had by private advice propoſed the ſame for the King, to his agent *Caſſali*, as before mentioned.[1] In the charge of inceſt imputed to the Queen, our author's conſcience hath recoiled a little, not at repeating the baſe calumny, but, for *not wording it more correctly*. But when he was in ſo good a mood, he might as well have made the ſame apology for the biſhop of *Amelia*, for the ſentence is tranſlated from him:[2] and

P. 116./131

Errat. before 2d part, p. x.

ſcience put to him. It is an intricate affair, and would ſwell this note to too great a length, to attempt to ſtate it clearly. *Varillas*, and ſome other writers of his ſide, but eſpecially *Boſſuet* (in his *Hiſtoire des Variations*, &c. V. 1. B. 6. p. 220, &c. and the records at the end of it, p. 251, &c.) have arraigned it with the ſevereſt cenſures. In reply to theſe, *Seckendorf* hath related a minute, and ample hiſtory of this whole affair, and alſo what *Luther's* cool reflections were upon it; enough to ſhew, that there was ſomething extremely ſingular in the caſe. *Hiſt. Luth.* L. 3. p. 277, &c. *Thuanus* has thrown ſome light upon this extraordinary matter, by relating a memorable circumſtance, that when the Landgrave was dead, *inſpecto a medicis corpore, Triorches repertus. Thuan.* L. 41. *A. D.* 1567. We do not think ourſelves obliged to juſtify *Luther* in this matter. He had his reaſons no doubt: and if they are not ſufficient to excuſe him, *his behaviour, in this particular, --- muſt be placed amongſt thoſe weakneſſes which have too great a mixture of humanity, not to admit of great alleviation.* P. 151.

1 See p. 71, 72, 79, and the note p. 79, 80.

2 The biſhop of *Amelia's* expreſſions are full as exceptionable as Mr. *Phillips's*. *Frater (Annæ ſc.) Georgius validus juvenis --- hunc rata, (Anna ſc.) gignendæ*

if the biſhop did not ſcruple to ſpeak out, the prieſt needed not to have been ſo ſqueamiſh, when without remorſe he could ſpeak evil of his neighbour, and tranſgreſs the firſt great law of chriſtianity.

P. 124./ 141 *Henry's* love letters to *Anne Bullen, which are ſtill preſerved in the Vatican library*, make another charge againſt her. But as theſe letters have been printed in *England*, we need not be ſent quite ſo far as *Rome*, for a ſight of theſe curious remains of *Henry's* love.[1] *Burnet*, who ſaw, and got them copied, has given a juſt deſcription of them.[2] That there are ſome coarſe and rather indecent expreſſions in them, cannot be denied: but the times were unpolite; and *Henry* had not much delicacy in his conſtitution: yet they fully ſhew, that the King went all along upon honourable motives; and in ſome of them, there appears a regard to decency and religion. — But had they been ever ſo bad, or as bad as Mr. *Phil-*

ſoboli accommodatum: and he had juſt before ſaid, the Queen thought *Henry, parum gignendis maribus aptum.* P. 268.

1 There are ſeventeen of theſe in all; and publiſhed, I ſuppoſe from biſhop *Burnet's* copy, in the year 1714, with this title, Love-Letters from King *Henry* the 8th to *Anne Boleyn*. Some of them are inſerted by Mr. *Grove* in his life of cardinal *Wolſey*, towards the end of the 4th volume. There is likewiſe a manuſcript copy of them in the *Bodleian* library.

2 *Burnet*, Ref. v. 3. p. 41.

lips

* which originally belonged to Dr Tho. Smith of Magdalen College, & came to the Bodleian Library upon the Death of Mr Hearne; who from ~~such~~ this copy gave a more correct one of the 17 Letters at the end of "Rob. de Avesbury" in 1720. See also ^ Tit. Liv. Foro-Julien's ~~Prolegomena~~ Edition of the Appendix to this, p. 98. & Præfat. p. ix. x. published in 1716.

lips would make them, what is this to *Anne Bullen?* could ſhe help the roughneſs, or the wantonneſs, of her admirer? She is not to anſwer for his offences: it would make againſt her indeed, if any of her letters could be produced, encouraging *an impure flame.* She ſeemeth to have behaved with a proper reſerved modeſty; and the King, in one of his letters, complaineth, "that "though he had been above a whole year "ſtruck with the dart of love, yet, ſays he, "I am not ſure whether I ſhall fail or find a "place in your heart or affection.'" What can Mr. *Phillips* blame here? not the lady's conduct certainly. Why then did he, for want of better matter, enviouſly load her with the ſlips of her lover's unpoliteneſs, by inſinuating, that her *qualities were unfit* P. 124. /141 *to raiſe a purer flame?* But every thing that could tend to leſſen her good name, muſt induſtriouſly be collected. So ſhe can any way be maligned, our author has his end.

Some of our writers have admired the pathetick eloquence of the letter the Queen wrote to the King, when ſhe was a priſoner in the *Tower.* Mr. *Phillips* grudges her P. 125. /142 even this little praiſe, and tries to deprive note. her of it. Lord *Herbert,* it is true, does not aver it to be genuine; but yet ſays,

1 Letter the 4th, ~~p 9.~~ p. 350 in Hearne's Appendix to his Avesbury. what

what is here omitted, "that it came to his "hand, from more than one good part."[1] As it was found among *Cromwell's* papers, this is no ſmall preſumption it was truly hers. The letter itſelf ſpeaks ſo ſtrongly the natural language of an heart ſurrounded with diſtreſſes, feeling their poignancy, but triumphing over them, with ſuch a conſcious ſpirit of truth, and duty to the King, that it could hardly be counterfeited by any, who did not actually feel the acute and delicate ſenſations, of love, diſappointment, and calamity. If the King himſelf could be any judge, where the heart of the Queen was affected, her language and ſentiments were animated: for *Henry*, in one of his letters, compliments his miſtreſs, "upon "the fine thoughts of her letter ſo cordially "expreſſed."[2]

Mr. *Phillips*, not ſatisfied with her conviction and execution, would perſuade us, ſhe died with a lie in her mouth. How ſo? did ſhe confeſs any guilt? No, not that. She had ſo *little regard to veracity*, as to declare *on the ſcaffold, that there never was a gentler and more merciful Prince* than *Henry*. Shall this be objected againſt her? Does Mr. *Phillips's* religion teach him, that forgiveneſs of injuries is inconſiſtent with

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~~P. 183.~~
Note.

1 *Herbert*, p. 446.
2 Letter 5. p. 12.

ſuffer-

fidelity,

We are gravely told, that

ſuffering innocency? The Queen had ſaid enough at her trial to clear herſelf: and tho' ſhe now experienced *the King's cruel and unrelenting temper*, yet how amiable did her virtue, or rather her chriſtianity appear, in ſo totally ſubduing that indignation, which, if liſtened to, would only have diſturbed the ſerenity of her end. She ſhewed how much ſhe had profited by afflictions; and exerted the higheſt inſtance of that goſpel ſpirit of love (which Mr. *Phillips*, by finding fault with, ſeems to have no notion of) by praying for him, whoſe fury and whoſe jealouſy was the ſole cauſe of her death.

Thus have I endeavoured to do ſome little juſtice to this greatly injured Queen's memory. We have conſulted, with others, the hiſtorians Mr. *Phillips* has cited; and which, if he had inſpected himſelf, he muſt know, that though they ingenuouſly relate the motives of the King's ſuſpicions, and all that can be ſaid againſt her; yet do they give as ſtrong conviction of her hard and cruel fate, as facts can ſpeak, or words expreſs. To aggravate the one, and entirely to omit the other, is ſuch a flagrant proof of partiality and prejudice, of barbarity and injuſtice, as cannot but excite the deteſtation and contempt of every friend to candour and to truth. But when ~~they tell us,~~ *her fate was conſidered not merely as a puniſhment*, P. 124. /141

niſhment, but as a divine judgment; we ſhall content ourſelves with this reply to ſuch preſumptuous (if not profane) interpreters of the providence of God, by anſwering them in their own way, that we cannot help thinking, that the divine goodneſs recompenſed the unjuſt calamities of the mother, by the long, the proſperous, and the glorious reign of her daughter *Elizabeth*.

The tender and candid manner in which our hiſtorians have ſpoken of the equally virtuous and unfortunate *Catherine*, may ſhame others in their rancorous ſpleen againſt her ſucceſſor in the King's affections. They both of them felt the indignation of a violent and impetuous huſband; and tho' of different natural diſpoſitions, the one rigid and auſtere, the other gay and ſprightly; yet were they both made the victims of their huſband's real or pretended ſcruples, and that, not through any immediate crime or fault of their own, but by being unhappily connected with an arbitrary and jealous Prince, whoſe will was too often his ſubjects law.

After this long digreſſion concerning *Pole's* work on *the church unity*, and thoſe *Engliſh* matters we have been conſidering, we are called again to return to the more immediate ſubject of the hiſtory before us. In obedience to the commands of the Pope, *Pole* was now arrived at *Rome*, and lodged

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in his Holineſs's palace. Our biographer, from his informant *Quirini*,[1] relates the occaſion of his particular call to that place; which was, with ſome other commiſſioners, *to effect a reform of manners. A plan of reformation* was accordingly drawn up. But all theſe good endeavours of *Pole*, and his aſſociates, were at once rendered ineffectual: his Holineſs himſelf put his negative upon them. *The temper of the times*, it is ſaid, *ſeemed ill ſuited to the change which was projected:* and no uſe at all was made of the plan. It anſwered the Pope's end indeed: the very plea of a council of reformation, would ſerve to amuſe the *Germans*; and ſtave off, that dreaded evil to the court of *Rome*, the calling of a general council.

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P. 140./159
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But had theſe commiſſioners proceeded in the execution of their plan, it would have ſignified but little: for they would not acknowledge any thing to be faulty in doctrine; only were willing to reform ſomething in diſcipline, and in the adminiſtration of eccleſiaſtical matters and perſons.[2] So that no good could have accrued to the chriſtian ſtate, from the *purſuit* of a *plan*

1 *Quirini*, v 1. cap. *ult.* p. 366 ---- 371.

2 *Sleidan*, B. 12. p. 233, &c. and *Herbert*, p. 490. who ſays the ſame, and whoſe authority is imperfectly cited by Mr. *Phillips*.

only

only calculated to *reform* a ſmall part of the evils complained of: for the corruptions of Faith and doctrine were as flagrant and notorious, as thoſe of morals and diſcipline.

To comfort *Pole*, and his partners in this work, that their labours might not be thrown away; amongſt others, whom he rewarded in the ſame manner, the Pope thought fit to promote *Reginald to the purple*. A ſtep which exaſperated his ſovereign beyond meaſure, offended his friends in *England*,[1] and proved the ruin of his family. All this he foreſaw plainly: but the Emperor and the Pope, for political reaſons, would not allow him to refuſe this dignity; but forced it upon him, with a view to prevent any proſpect of a reconciliation between him and his friends in *England*.

P. 141.

1 *Strype's* Mem. v. 1. p. 298, 299.

Cardinal Andrew of Austria Bishop of
Constans & Brixen who was Govenor of
the Spanish Netherlands and died in the Year
1600, castrated four of his base Children to
make them Court Musicians.

Reisler's Travels Vol 1.st P 25.